GERMAN-SPEAKING TRAVELLERS IN SCOTLAND,
1800 - 1860,
AND THEIR PLACE IN THE
HISTORY OF EUROPEAN TRAVEL LITERATURE.

VOLUME TWO
By the turn of the Century industrial Scotland was very much a reality; the last two decades of the 18th Century had witnessed an astounding growth of mills and factories, in cities, towns and villages, a development as yet unparalleled in contemporary Germany. Did the German visitors to the country from 1800 on take note of this important aspect of Scottish life? Did they choose to? The commercial traveller, the purpose of whose visit was to describe and report on the state of industry and trade, certainly took careful note, while others varied in their willingness to include such mundane matters in their travel accounts.

One of the commercial travellers, Nemnich, made two visits to Britain, in 1799 and 1805-6, both undertaken in order to report and learn from British trade and commerce. The latter journey appears to have taken Nemnich through every county in the land. Although his account of the Northern and Western Isles is evidently second-hand, the resulting exhaustive report must surely be of interest to the industrial historian. It is enough here to list his findings, from iron works to kelp burning, the textile industry to the whisky trade, ship-building to the polishing of semi-precious stones, and from leather-tanning to the knitting of woollen stockings. Even to the less observant foreign visitor, travelling only through Scott country to Edinburgh and the Trossachs, industrial activity of some sort or other must surely have been evident. The abundance of Scottish industries mentioned in Nemnich's report confirms this: coal, iron, lead, tin, copper mines and wares; slate, chalk, limestone, marble, basalt, granite and sandstone quarries; production of grind-, mill- and whetstones, asbestos, mica, calcium, magnesia and vitriol; puddingstone, peat, moss, marl and kelp, dendrite and antimony; porcelain and pottery; paper; soap, lamps and candles; leatherware, coachwork, ship-building and accessories (tar, sailcloth, fishing nets, rope-making); textiles - the spinning, weaving, bleaching, dyeing, colouring and printing works for cotton, flax, linen and linen thread, muslin, lawn and tartan; cotton silk, worsted and woollen stockings and woollen caps; carpets and rugs;
whisky, rum and port; malt and sugar-refining; medical instruments, in particular razor-blades; clocks, nails, pistols and canons; and finally a large variety of pebbles and semi-precious stones, ruby, agate, amethyst, garnet, emerald, topaz, porphyry, jasper and cairngorm.

Nemnich's report, though statistical and thorough, is not merely dry and factual; where he finds something remarkable he comments on it and the result is a diverse investigation. In Ayrshire, for instance, he mentions in particular the Kilmarnock capes and the Scotch bonnets made at Maybole (Nemnich, 515); he reports that pedlars and packmen had started trade in the flourishing industrial city of Paisley and write of the Bargarron thread produced there (ibid., 537f.); in Glasgow he met a man who had made his fortune in the new muslin trade by designing just one popular pattern (ibid., 529); we are given a graphic description of the history and production of cudbear as practised by its patentee in the Highlands, Dr. Cuthbert Gordon (ibid., 531); and we are informed that from the ship-building centre of Greenock comes the best rum (ibid., 543). In Fife, where the coal-mines of Dysart had twice been on fire, its harbour, like Kirkcaldy's, had been enlarged to shelter 30 to 40 boats, thus greatly expanding trade; and while Burntisland had lost its trade importance after the Union, the surrounding hills were so rich in minerals that at the time of Nemnich's visit great hopes had been raised for the finding of diamonds (ibid., 566). He reports that the pearls in the River Ythan had on occasion reached a price of £2 - £3, fine jasper and pebbles were to be found in the North Esk, in the Grampians there were emerald and topaz stones, with the amethysts from that region being so fine that they commonly fetched a price of 30 to 40 Guineas (ibid., 582, 577 & 585). Nemnich found the Cairngorm stone and Portsoy marble especially worthy of note and gives a detailed description of both (ibid., 585f.); he was also struck by the presence of both brown and green porphyry on Ben Nevis and claimed that the red granite there was the best in the world (ibid., 590). Even in the least expected places, Nemnich came across surprising industrial outputs; in Banff, for instance, Messrs. Robinson & Co. had brought out a patent on a new stocking machine and were exporting to London, in the small Aberdeenshire village of Nether Kinmundy there was a wool factory with over 50 employees and Scott & Co's bleachery in Inverugie also employed
a good many (ibid., 586f. and 584); there were nine bleaching works at Mains of Fintry, in Callander and Kilmahog muslin provided 100 girls with jobs, Stirlingshire was alive with factories and mills, Campsie providing the army with its special clothes and tartans, and in Dunfermline, where the biggest limestone works in Britain were and where interesting new machinery was used in the textile industry, Nemnich saw a shirt in a shop window which had been woven 100 years before without stitch or needle, such was the expertise of the weaver (ibid., 576, 556, 550 & 571). Nemnich found unexpected riches in Inverness; since 1746 and Culloden new life had brought with it great progress in the textile factories, which had taken over from the dwindling corn and malt trades; Nemnich saw ships of up to 200 tons anchored at the quays of the harbour, which he found excellent (ibid., 591f.). He reports that Stromness harbour was one of the safest in all Northern Britain (ibid., 720). Concerning the Northern and Western Isles further, he writes of the fine sand of Jura used for glass works, of the slate quarries on Bemnahua, which gave the tiny island an amazingly high population of 140, of the basalt on Staffa, Comra, Ulva and Eigg, of the coral, sponge, amber and "Molucca Beans" washed ashore in Orkney, of the excellent slate on Bressey, and the abundance of minerals to be found on Fetlar, above all bog ore, but also copper, blacklead, soapstone, asbestos, garnets, Fuller's earth and Chalybeate (ibid., 709f., 712f., 719 726f.)

So Nemnich's report continues, including mention of the countries with which Scotland did trade, Aberdeen's tobacco trade with the USA, for instance, and imports from the Baltic, Shetland's trade with Leith, London, Hamburg, Holland, Norway, Spain and the Mediterranean countries and the West Indies. In each case he lists both exports and imports and is surprised to find the Leith imports far more numerous than the exports. He was impressed by the thriving trade continued between Glasgow and the Baltic and reports on the first trade between Scotland and the Black Sea, the first ship having left Greenock for Odessa in 1803 (ibid., 581f., 725 & 526). Edinburgh's trade with the Baltic had declined; during the building of the New Town there had been much wood imported from the Baltic ports, but this need was past (ibid., 501ff.). Nemnich found the canals excellent for inland trade and was especially impressed with Perth as a trading centre (ibid., 485 & 560). Some of the Scottish stone quarries yielded such excellent stone that much had been exported for building on the Continent and
Nemnich cites the Townhouse of Amsterdam, built of Longannet stone, as an example of this (ibid., 557). He was impressed too, by the fact that £9,000 worth of setts (12,000 tons) were exported to London each year from the Aberdeen granite quarries (ibid., 579).

Nor does Nemnich ignore the far-reaching social questions which such an abundance of industry raises. The Doune area impressed him, not just for its famous slaters or for its Highland Pistoles, reputedly the best in the land since 1646, or even for its scenic beauty, for the big new Adelphi Cotton Mill on the south bank of the Teith not only produced the best cotton yarn in Scotland but also had provided new houses, built from old ones, for the more than 700 workers (ibid., 556ff.). And while he evidently disapproved of the mill in Lanark, whose employees had mostly been brought in from the Highlands (and that included 4,000 - 5,000 children), Nemnich was very taken with the ideas put into practice in New Lanark (ibid., 520ff.). But it is not entirely a rosy picture which Nemnich paints; some projects had not been a success, such as the bankrupt company of the silver lead-mines at Forgandenny (ibid., 563); he disapproved too, of the child labour in the Glasgow area, and in the small and highly populated Renfrewshire, factories lined the river banks, thus destroying the romantic aspect of the countryside; the resulting pollution had not only killed the fish in the rivers but also destroyed the formerly famous (and unusually large) pearls (ibid., 536).

It is surprising that as early as 1803 a lady of Johanna Schopenhauer's wealth and standing should take such deliberate notice of industry in Britain, even describing machinery and work-methods and accompanying her observations in her notebooks with frequent illustrations. As Plakolb observes: "Dass hier das herauskommende, dem Kontinent noch ferne Zeitalter der Industrie gerade von einer Frau beschrieben wurde, ist besonders reizvoll" (Plakolb, 325). The Schopenhauers' first stop after Edinburgh was at the Carron Iron Works and it is to Schopenhauer's credit that on first viewing the flaming chimneys she does not end her description there and then. While she was naturally glad to escape the smoke and din of this "Kyklopenwohnung", Schopenhauer feels she would indeed have toured the works had this been permitted. Describing their approach to the plant, she writes:
Bald erblickten wir von weitem viele grosse Gebäude, mit abenteuerlichen, hohen Schornsteinen. Dicke, schwarze Rauchwolken stiegen aus diesen empor und wälzten sich verfinsternd über die blühende Gegend, hoch aufspührende Flammen blitzen aus dem Dampfe gen Himmel. (Schopenhauer, 294f.)

Here she is honest in admitting that there are many things which one feels obliged to visit on a tour, even when one has no real inclination to do so. This once she is relieved not to have to submit to this "Pflichtgefühl":

Das Ganze hatte hier, bei aller ungeheuren Grösse, dennoch wenig Einladendes. Der Steinkohlen-Dampf versetzte uns den Athem, betäubendes Getöse und Gehämmer erscholl aus dem Innern der Gebäude; ewige Dämmerung herrschte in diesen. Rauchwolken, die weit und breit mit Asche und Russ Bäume und Pflanzen bedecken und die Vegetation ins Gewand der Trauer hüllen. (ibid., 295f.)

Perth attracted Schopenhauer, as it was to impress Namich two years later. She found it a wealthy, tastefully built town which enjoyed lively trade and industry and mentions in particular its well-known bleaching works (ibid., 303). She evidently also enjoyed her visit to Stirling, and not only because of the colourful soldiers and the view from the Castle (describing which, she includes the Carron chimneys very much as a part of the landscape):

Stirling besitzt viele Fabriken, sehr schöne Teppiche aller Art werden hier gemacht; auch das vielfarbige gewürfelte Wollenzeug, worin die Bergschotten sich kleiden. Wir besahen eine dieser Fabriken und waren aufs neue gezwungen, den erfindungsreichen Geist zu bewundern, welcher in diesem Lande alle Arbeiten auf so mannichfalt- ige Weise vereinfacht und erleichtert. Als zuvor noch nicht gesehen, bemerkten wir hier eine Maschine, mit welcher ein Mädchen mehr als fünfzig Spulen Wolle zugleich abhaspelte. Die Spulen waren in einem grossen Zirkel neben einander be festigt und der Faden jeder dieser Spulen an die drüber stehende, sehr grosse Haspel gebunden. Drehend setzte das Mädchen mittels eines Rades, die sehr einfache Maschine aufs zweckmässigste mit der grössten Leichtigkeit in Bewegung. (ibid., 297f.)

Schopenhauer was genuinely gratified that the girl's work had thus been
alleviated. Her sympathy for the workforce is further illustrated in the light-hearted episode she goes on to relate:

Auch die Hunde werden hier zur Industrie gezwungen. Wir sahen einen sehr schönen, großen Hund, welcher in einem Rade herumreiten musste, wie ein Eichhörnchen, um eine Mühle zur Reibung der Farben zu treiben. Diese Arbeit schien ihm aber nicht sonderlich zu amüsieren, er nahm seinen Augenblick wahr und entwich mit unglaublicher Behendigkeit, gerade wie er uns seine Künste vormachen musste. Alles, jung und alt, lief mit grossem Geschrei hinter ihm her, aber er entkam glücklich seinen Verfolgern zu unserer grossen Freude und zum grossen Leidwesen seines Herrn.

(ibid., 298)

It is evident, however, that Schopenhauer viewed progress in Scotland less favourably than she did in England; that "romantic aspect", which Nemnich had found ousted in Renfrewshire by factories and pollution, drew Schopenhauer away from factories into the Highlands. After her tour of the Highlands Glasgow was something of a disappointment:

Glasgow ist weit lebhafter als Edinburgh, denn Handel und Wandel sind hier zu Hause; übrigens aber konnte uns Niemand, so viel wir uns auch erkundigen mochten, irgend ein merkwürdiges Gebäude oder sonst einen Gegenstand angeben, welcher näherer Betrachtung für ein nicht kaufmännisches Gemüth würdig gewesen wäre. Wir ruhten also, im eigentlichen Sinne des Worts, die wenigen Tage, die wir hier zubrachten, denn die Fabriken, die man uns zu zeigen sich erbot, wären doch nur Wiederholungen des schon Gesehenen gewesen.

(ibid., 346f.)

Furthermore it was pouring with rain during their Glasgow stay, and Schopenhauer was only thankful that it had been dry during their all-important tour of the Highlands themselves. Although she never denied the existence of factories, mines and mills, Scotland was nonetheless to remain for her the home of Ossian.

Schopenhauer certainly saw many members of the working classes on their 'home ground' when she visited the Leith Races; it is hardly surprising that visits to Leith called for comment on the trading town with its harbour and docks. In 1816 Spiker was given a tour of the town by a Leith merchant; the narrow streets, crowded with people,
were sufficient indication to the German that he had left the broad grand streets of the New Town of Edinburgh behind him and was now in a busy sea port (Spiker, 222). He was taken to the New Exchange coffee room, which he found less well organised than others of its kind in Britain, but the grandeur of the Exchange building itself testified to the prosperity of Leith. However, there were only small boats in the harbour, and their guide complained that this was the direct result of the relatively poor trade at the time. While the harbour did not particularly impress Spiker, the docks did; at the time of writing, two of the three were completed, in a stone which he found of excellent quality, and the work which was still in progress on the third was to cost a minimum of £120,000. He was taken on board one of the small merchant vessels and was most impressed with its fittings and comfort; it was one of the many smacks bound for London. Spiker also reports on the trade between Leith and North Germany. Of particular importance he singles out Leith's "starken Handel mit weissen Glase, vorzüglich Flaschen und Gläsern, die selbst den englischen vorzogen werden" (ibid., 225).

On Meidinger's first visit to Leith in 1820 the new and third wet dock was still incomplete; Meidinger gives the dimensions of all the docks, dry and wet. He also gives figures concerning trade: of the boats which had docked in Leith during 1818, 170 had been foreign; with 6689 sailors, and 3562 boats, with a total of 1864 sailors, had been coastal traders (Meidinger, Briefe, 155). One can deduce from these figures alone that for the busy trading centre of Leith the presence of a German was no rarity. In his later work, Meidinger says of the dry docks that they "wetteifern an Schönheit und Grösse mit den London Docks" (ibid., Reisen, 32); like Spiker he was greatly taken with the smacks which travelled between London and Leith, and also with the extent of Leith's trade abroad. The Baltic trade with Scotland was important at that time; in reporting on the state of trade in Stranraer, for instance, Meidinger mentions the town's cotton mill, tannery, linen bleaching works, shoe-making and also trade with the Baltic ports, oats being exported and wooden planks and boards being imported from those countries (ibid., 114).

In 1816 Spiker was given a tour of Cameron Thomson and Co.'s cotton mill in Glasgow: "Mr. Cameron ... nahm uns sehr freundlich auf, und
führte uns mit unermüdlicher Gefälligkeit durch das ganze Fabrikgebäude" (Spiker, 296). Despite this treatment, Spiker evidently did not feel obliged to give a detailed account of the visit: "Die Maschinen selbst sind von andern, besser als ich mit dem Fabrikwesen bekannten, Schriftstellern schon so oft beschrieben worden, dass man mir deren Zergliederung gern erlassen wird" (ibid.). He does, however, describe the power-looms, state the size of the workforce (about 500) and deem the steam-engine, which powered the machines, next to those in Stoke and Preston "eine der schönsten und nettesten, die wir auf unserer Reise sahen" (ibid., 297). He was much taken with the simple design of the latter machine, built by Cook of Glasgow.

To a visitor of Meidinger's profession Glasgow was naturally of great interest. He did not shy away from such an industrial city as Schopenhauer had done. There was also one other major difference between their tours; at the time of the Schopenhauers' visit in 1803, Scotland's industry was still enjoying its heyday, whereas by 1820 the country was suffering from a trade slump. In 1816, for instance, Spiker had reported from Glasgow that Macintosh's manufacture of "pulicats" [a kind of handkerchief], referred to by Nemnich in 1807, had long since ceased (Spiker, 297). Meidinger was to report on iron foundries and muslin works, but the cotton trade had receded and other factories, too, had had to close; he cites the example of a barrel-producing factory, which had shipped its products to the West Indies to be filled with rum. Some of the barrels had even been returned; factory items were in such cases as these proving inferior to hand-made, and so the business had failed (ibid., Briefe, 159). The Forth and Clyde Canal, however, continued to assure Scotland of its trade with the north, but the main trade in Glasgow was carried out at this time with the West Indies, importing coffee, sugar and rum (ibid., Reisen, 96) and America. Three years earlier, in 1817, Meissner had written of the heavy steamboat traffic on the Clyde and of his interest on seeing the manufacturing towns of Renfrew, Paisley and Port Glasgow (Meissner, 283f.). But the bustle and industry which impressed Meissner as a casual onlooker in Glasgow, were less evident to Meidinger. To the latter the mood of the great city was anything but prosperous:

In den meisten Straßen sieht man Häuser leer stehen und zum Verkaufe oder Miethen ausgesetzt.
In keiner Periode soll so viel Armuth und so wenig Verdienst gewesen seyn. Viele Arbeiter und verarmte Kaufleute wandern nach Amerika aus.

(Meidinger, Briefe, 159)

This gloom was not to be found all over the country, however, and in his later work Meidinger gives a full report, similar to Nemnich’s, of the country’s industries. “Die freundliche Stadt Perth”, with its thriving linen and cotton works, Doune with the Adelphi Cotton Mill and its Highland Pistols, Inverness with its busy harbour, the prosperous Dundee, the slate quarries on the islands of Easdale and Seil on the Argyll coast, the salt production at Saltcoate, the ironworks at Muirkirk, the crown glass factory in Dunbarton and the soda burning at Oben (ibid., Reisen, 48, 52, 69, 53, 89, 102, 104 & Briefe, 163) - these and many more gain mention from Meidinger. The Paisley textiles, in particular the silk products, the fact that Glasgow at the time had over 3,000 power looms, and the sight of the Aberdeen women, sitting on their doorsteps knitting woollen stockings for export, also left a clear impression on him (ibid., Reisen, 101f., 97, 62). As for the renowned Carron Works, Meidinger, like Schopenhauer, found his entry barred (ibid., Briefe, 156); apparently even Scotsmen with written permission had been refused entry by the single-minded overseer. Even industry paid the price of fame.

New Lanark. Perhaps most importantly, Meidinger gives one of the fuller accounts of New Lanark. Having described the Falls of Clyde, he goes on to describe New Lanark and its contented, fulfilled inhabitants:


Meidinger then describes the school building and the chapel, continuing:

Da man aber, zumal im Winter, nicht immer auf einen Geistlichen aus der Nachbarschaft zählen kann, so gingen die Einwohner meistens nach Old
Lanark in die Kirche, wobei sich die Mädchen durch ihre grosse Reinlichkeit und Sittsamkeit höchst vortheilhaft auszeichnen. Die hiesigen Fabrikarbeiter sind sämmtlich gehalten, ihre Kinder vom 2ten bis zum 10ten Jahre regelmässig in die Schule zu schicken. Dadurch fallen die Kinder (nicht zur Last den Eltern), begehen keine Unarten, lernen sich vertragen, werden nicht ausgescholten oder geschlagen, und finden im Unterricht zugleich Unterhaltung und Freude.

(ibid., Reisen, 107)

The glowing account continues with a more detailed report on the method of education in the school, which at the time had over 400 pupils. Two of the school's practices impressed Maidinger particularly: firstly, the fact that no prizes or rewards are given, so that there should be no feelings of jealousy or ill-feeling amongst the children, and secondly, that in the summer, after classes are over, each child is given some fruit, often cherries or gooseberries, and then six children lead the others out in procession, playing whistles as they do so (ibid., 108). The children wear no shoes in summer, the boys are dressed in the kilt, the girls in tartan frocks and white pinafores. At midday they have dance classes, both apart and together:

Es ist in der That ein höchst erfreulicher Anblick, diese in der Fülle der Gesundheit stehenden Kinder, die meisten mit blonden Haaren und blauen Augen, fröhlich und munter einher springen zu sehen. Der Kontrast zwischen New Lanark und den übrigen Fabrikortern Schottlands und Englands ist in dieser Hinsicht ausserordentlich, und man kann es dem für Menschenglück warm schlagenden Herzen nicht verargen, wenn es eine allgemeine Einführung dieser Anstalten wünscht, einen ähnlichen gesellschaftlichen Zustand für die ärmeren Klassen, besonders der Fabrikarbeiter, nicht nur durch ganz Grossbritannien, sondern durch ganz Europa. Das eigne Interesse der Menschen erheischt, dass die untern Volksklassen eine einfache moralische Erziehung erhalten, und stets zweckmässig beschäftigt werden, wenn Ruhe und Frieden auf Jahrhunderte hinaus begründet werden sollen.

(ibid., 108)

Maidinger goes on to talk of Robert Owen himself, his reputation in Britain and his ideal of a mutual cooperative system. He appears to dismiss New Lanark's founder, David Dale, and gives full credit instead to Owen: "Vor seiner Ankunft waren Trunkenheit, Zank, Schlägerei, Fluchen und Schwören an der Tagesordnung, jetzt ist von all diesem keine Spur mehr zu finden" (ibid.).
But Owen's project in America, New Harmony, had seemingly failed, and he had acquired a bad reputation in England by speaking out at public meetings in an untoward manner on religious issues. Meidinger's opinion seems to be that a cooperative of Owen's recommendation is impracticable in large industrial areas, already rife with social problems, while it may work well in a rural area such as New Lanark. Owen had reputedly denounced all prevalent systems of government and religion and in doing so had turned public opinion against him; thus no one was willing to go along with his ideas on a large scale. At the time of Meidinger's visit, Owen's son had been in charge of New Lanark for the past three years, and had introduced a gymnasium perhaps as a result of his having spent several years in Switzerland. Meidinger goes on to list the New Lanark factories and works, which at the time of writing employed 2,200 people. Despite his great admiration for the "volle Thätigkeit" and "bewundernswerthe Ordnung" (ibid., 110) Meidinger evidently saw in Owen's scheme no answer to effecting successful industry on a world scale.

Meidinger was not alone in visiting New Lanark, which was evidently of sufficient topical interest to encourage many visits from tourists and travellers at the time. Both Löwenthal, in 1822, and Schinkel, in 1826, visited the site. A few years earlier Spiker had been content to view "the picturesquely situated town" from a distance (Spiker, 315), but he at least paid tribute to the pioneering work of the town's founder, David Dale, whom Meidinger had not even mentioned. Schinkel found little to say after his visit, beyond reporting that the method of education seemed to him akin to that of the Spartans and that the uniform of the girls was "überaus malerisch", with their bare feet and pinafores worn over thin, fluttering dresses (Schinkel, iii, 97). Löwenthal, on the other hand, gave a full and enthusiastic account of his visit, supplementing this with a discussion of Owen's theories. In his view "Owen gehört zu den eigenthümlichsten National-Oekonomen und, was freilich etwas mehr ist, zu den wohlwillendsten und thätigsten Menschenfreunden und, als solcher, in der That zu den allermerkwürdigsten Männern unserer Tage" (Löwenthal, 83). He goes on to quote and translate from the main points of a report recently published by Owen in 1821. Although he finds much that is positive in Owen's ideas, he also considers him to be over idealistic in hoping to do away with all evil.
Es bedarf keiner Erwähnung, dass sonach dieser Plan, in so fern er mit dem Feuer der liebevollen Begeisterung der ganzen Menschheit, ja auch nur das britische Reich umfasst allzu idealisch und ein Aggregat frommer Wünsche und schöner Träume ist. Träume und Poesien sind aber der Prosa des Staatslebens noch bei weitem fremder und gefährlicher als das Reale und Greifbare es der Poesie ist. (Löwenthal, 85)

Nonetheless Löwenthal saw some of Owen's ideas successfully in practice in New Lanark. He goes on to describe the town, where a new communal kitchen and dining-room were being built at the time of his visit. He gives a colourful description of an examination in natural history and geography which he attended:


Löwenthal visited several classes, some of them segregated, with men and women teachers. From the writing, spelling, history and botany classes - in the latter especially he found excellent teaching aids in the form of illustrated diagrams and charts on the walls - Löwenthal also saw the small children playing under supervision in a playpen. As for the manufacturing buildings, he writes of the foundry and smithy that "sie konnte schwerlich geräumiger, heller, reinlicher und freundlicher gedacht werden" (ibid., 87), while he remarks that the 60,000 miles of thread produced daily by the mill could be wound twice around the world. Owen himself was in London at the time, but Löwenthal was shown all round the
town by his son, "ein angenehmer junger Mann, der, in Hofwyl erzogen, der deutschen Sprache ganz mächtig ist" (ibid.).

In the 1830s Raumer was to leave favourable impressions of visits to factories and mines throughout Britain, exclaiming from Newcastle: "Überall Leben, Arbeit, Fortschritt" (Raumer, 1835, 350). In Glasgow, too, he spent considerable time on conducted tours of the city's factories, in particular the cotton mills, and was to find much to praise in the working conditions, but above all in the modern, labour-saving machinery. Being personally acquainted with Cleland, he reproduces facts and figures concerning Glasgow's industrial life taken from the latter's statistical report (ibid., 384f.). The following year, in 1836, Pulszky was to represent the opposing view. He voiced his firm disapproval of industrial life, especially as he witnessed it in the factories and docks of Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool. He foresaw an age when humans would become superfluous and expressed his fear that the so-called progress, epitomised in the invention of the railway, merely indicated the approach of "die Epoche der Oberflächlichkeit" and "ein flacher Kosmopolitismus" (Pulszky, 122). Once in Scotland, he pointedly avoided Glasgow and her industry.

Even Kohl was to leave little space for trade and industry in his Reisen in Schottland, though he must have been aware of the importance of commerce to Scottish life. His fellow passengers on the steamer from Belfast to Glasgow were surely indication alone that industrial Scotland could hardly be ignored by a traveller who wanted to encompass both past and present: his travelling companions in the first-class cabin on that journey were "einige schottische Herren von der Linnenlinie, einige von der Seidenlinie, ein paar 'Cottontwiners' ..., 'Cottonweavers' und 'Cottonbleachers' ..., und einer, der, als ich ihn um sein Geschäft befragte, mir sagte, er sei in der Wollenlinie"; and in the second class Kohl witnessed a crowd of forsaken and impoverished Irish, travelling to Scotland in the hopes of finding what was denied them in their own "heimathlichen Paradiese", namely work and food, (Kohl, i, 1). Kohl realises that they are heading for the large industrial areas of the country. Moreover, as he approaches Glasgow, he himself notices the pollution, the city's smoke being "besonders schlimm und schädlich" (ibid., 9). Indeed, it is this aspect of the
famous chimney at Tennant's chemical works which interests Kohl more than any other and he gives a fairly detailed description of the then unique system of underground tunnels which funneled the waste fumes to the base of the chimney (ibid., 10ff.). He questions some of the workers and discovers that they risk the danger of being swept along by the fumes when they have to enter the tunnels for repairs (ibid., 11).

Having heard earlier that both the Botanic Garden and the Observatory had had to be moved to sites away from the centre of Glasgow because of pollution, Kohl sees fit to praise the effort made at Tennant's factory to disperse the poisonous fumes:


The man of scientific progress struggles with the conservationist and aesthete.

Rather than visit a number of factories, Kohl decided he would obtain an idea of the products manufactured in Glasgow and its surroundings by visiting the largest of the warehouses, Campbell brothers. He was impressed by the size of this establishment, too, there being 200 clerks, whereas even the most fashionable of the Paris stores only had 100 on their staff (ibid.). He was interested above all by the tartans. Kohl gleaned his facts about the Campbell brothers' rise to riches from Chambers' Pictures of Scotland, but he was not prepared to attribute much more than luck to making one's fortune in Glasgow:

Alle Weisheiten Salomonis kann man da entbehren, und nur eines einzigen praktischen Einfalls - sind es zwei, so ist es noch besser, - bedarf es, um dir
in Fülle das zu geben, an dessen Erlangung
Tausende von Menschen Hunderttausende von
guten Einfällen vergebens verschwendeten.
(ibid., 18)

Here Kohl makes use of the travel writer’s ability to mix observation
with reflection and serious comment with light-hearted narrative. He
continues:

Vielleicht, ja ohne Zweifel liegen mir Hunderte
von solchen guten Einfällen, die mich zum Millionär
zu machen im Stande wären, vor den Füssen, wenn ich
sie nur gleich finden könnte. Andere werden sie
finden and davon eine Zeit lang fröhlich leben, dann
aber auch des Weges wandern, den ich damals, diese
Gedanken hegend, wanderte, nämlich den Weg zum
Kirchhofe. Für mich war es diesmale nur noch zum
Kirchhofe von Glasgow, der reich an Monumenten und
überhaupt einer der schönsten Kirchhofs ist, die
Europa aufzuweisen hat.

(ibid., 18f.)

Kohl was refused entry to the large dyeing and colouring works in Glasgow
(even though he deemed them the most interesting thing that a visitor
to Glasgow could view in the city (ibid., 36); he was glad now to
digress on the more romantic subject of tartans, and thence to ‘escape’
to the Necropolis.

Later Kohl was to be fascinated by the skill of the goldsmiths in
Perth, some of whom he visited, but once more it suited him to digress
on a related, yet more romantic topic than the description of jewelry
production. It was Queen Victoria who had set the fashion for wearing
Scottish jewellery on her recent tour11 and it was the typically Scot-
tish stones which interested Kohl — gold, after all, is found in many
a country, but not so the agates, jasper, cairngorm and other stones
which were to be found in the Scottish glens and mountains (ibid., 190f.).
The fact that the stones were gathered to a great extent by hand and not
mined adds to the attraction. From the Highland brooches worn by the
Queen, Kohl moves on via Dr. Johnson’s descriptions of those that the
Highland women wore, to the "Mary Queen of Scotch Brooch" and finally
to the romantic figure of Bonny Prince Charlie himself (ibid. 192f.).

A few years earlier, in 1839, Hallberg-Broich had commented on the
British achievement in engineering and the lack of German industry
(Hallberg-Broich, 94 & 51). The British make everything, the Germans,
who have too much money and cannot be bothered to start their own
industry, merely buy it; but Hallberg does not praise the British, whom
he sees to be very different at home from the figure they cut abroad.
The Briton becomes "nichts als eine mechanische Maschine" (ibid., 94)
and while his people have achieved great things in the field of industry, it has been at the expense of the individual human being. Hallberg was fiercely opposed to the British principle (as he interpreted it) of "Geld ist alles, Meinung nichts" (ibid., 22).

One commodity produced in Scotland which seems to have impressed Germans, as it still does today, was knitwear. Even the fastidious and over critical Hallberg has a word of praise for the finished product, if not for the producers of it, whom he sees in Shetland:

Die hässlichen Weiber und Mädchen nähren sich durch Stricken in Baum- und Schafwolle, worin sie so weit gebracht, dass die Strümpfe von Schafwolle zu zwei Pfund das Paar verkaufen, die sehr fein und schön sind; ebenso stricken sie Hauben und Shawls von Baumwolle mit durchlöcherten Blumen und Figuren von grosser Schönheit. (ibid., elf.)

Ziegler, too, was to one the skilled Shetland women at work and expresses the opinion that it is possible that the women of Fair Isle learnt their knitting skills from the Duke of Medina Sidonia after the sinking of the Armada in the 16th Century (Ziegler, Bilder, 360 & Reise, 296). Some fifty years earlier Nemnich had reported on the extraordinary skill and speed with which the Shetland women knitted (Nemnich, 725), while of the women in Peterhead he wrote that they earned four shillings for spinning, and fourteen for knitting, a dozen worsted stockings, which had to be so fine that two together could be pulled through a finger ring. In a good year the Peterhead women would produce 70,000 dozen stockings, two-thirds of which had formerly been exported to Holland and Germany and one third to England, Portugal and America (ibid., 579).

Although an eminent scientist, Carus was more often intent on enjoying the romantic nature of his tour in Scotland than on inspecting Scottish industry. He is full of praise for the British achievement in the realms of technical arts, politics, and for the success of the Navy and of the many public institutions in the country, but industry, he feels, is all-absorbing, to the detriment of the creative arts, and in the place of the 'merriness' of Shakespearean England he witnesses stiffness, pedantry and egotism (Carus, i, ch.VI). Like Pulszky, he does not feign interest in a field of engineering unfamiliar to him; he travelled the Caledonian Canal at the time of its extension, and
while it was only of general interest to him, he acknowledges that to an hydraulic engineer the project would be both instructive and of great interest (ibid., ii, 227f.). It was of course of greater topical interest to those who witnessed the early stages of the building of the Canal over twenty years earlier. Both Meissner and Löwenthal were full of praise for the project, the latter describing it (in 1822) as "ein Wasserbauwerk, das an Grösse, Festigkeit und Zierlichkeit sonder Zweifel alles Bestehende der Art überbietet" (Löwenthal, 113).

By 1850 Tennant's Chemical Factory in Glasgow had superseded the Carron Iron Works as a frequent stop on the German visitor's itinerary in Scotland. Kohl had visited the works in 1842, while Brandes, Lewald, Kalckstein and Reletaab, all in Scotland between 1850 and 1851, included a visit on their journeys. Indeed, it is quite possible that Kohl's own description of the mighty chimney had encouraged them to look out for it while in Glasgow. Brandes approached Glasgow more openly than many of his predecessors; he deems the city "eine der Prachtstädte Schottlands ... seit langer Zeit der bedeutendste Fabrikort für Baumwollengewebe, Leinen und Zwirn" (Brandes, 21). He continues:

Ich staunte über die gewaltigen Schornsteine, deren einer alle anderen überragt, ein isolirter Kegel von 435' Höhe, unten 40'und oben 14' im Durchmesser, der also den höchsten Thürmen Europe's und der höchsten Pyramide Aegyptens gleich kommt. Er steht bei der Tennant'schen Sodafabrik und ist von Backsteinen aufgemauert.  (ibid.)

Fanny Lewald was untypically uninterested in Glasgow's factories. However, if unenthusiastic, she too considered Tennant's factory ought to be mentioned, as

...die grösste Sodafabrik der Welt, und überhaupt eine der grössten chemischen Fabriken. Sie umfasst zwölf Acker Land, in ihnen einen für die Fabrik angelegten Kanal; beschäftigt sechshundert Arbeiter, und der Hauptbau hat einen Schornstein, der genau so hoch ist, wie der Strassburger Münster. ... Dabei erscheint der Schornstein durch seine glatte, kahle Gestalt noch höher, als er ist, wirklich fast unerschätziglich gross.  (Lewald, ii, 494)

She goes on to explain in a few sentences that the extremely costly chimney had recently been rendered superfluous after the development of a new process which prevented the escape of any harmful acid. It is as if Lewald enjoyed relating this fact; she felt no elation at the
wonders of industrial advancement, as the following passage reveals:

Wenn ich Dir nun noch sage, dass der Weg durch
die Fabrikgebäude und Höfe, zwischen Kohlen,
Balken, Eisen und Holz; zwischen Feueröfen und
Wasserbehältern; zwischen Arbeitern, die auf
Planken Karren voll fertigen Fabrikates und
rohen Materials zur Verarbeitung führen; zwischen
weissfärbbenden und schwarzfärbbenden Dingen, sehr
schmutzig und beschwerlich war; dass ich bald
mit den hellen Stiefeln in schwarze Feuchtigkeit
hineinpatschte, bald mit dem Hut gegen einen
niedrigen und schmutzigen Balken stieß, durch
den man kriechen musste, und dass es erstickend
bald nach Schwefel, bald nach Chlor, immer aber
ganz abscheulich roch, so wirst Du zugeben, dass
die Expedition für mich eine ziemlich überflüssige
und nicht sehr fruchtbare gewesen ist.

(ibid., 495f.)

This comes as a surprise from Lewald - were the poverty and squalor of
a Highland hut easier to swallow than the factory conditions in Glasgow?

However, we then hear what had offended her socialist principles; on
the way home her companion, a professor attending the Edinburgh natural-
lists' conference, talks of the great potential of Free Masonry, were
it only developed according to socialist principles. The idea that
the lodges would then do away with class barriers, also opening their
doors to women, certainly appealed to Lewald and she did not object to
converting others to her beliefs; but she strongly objects to the
exploitation carried out in the world when such possibilities do exist:

Aber die Leute sind blind mit sehenden Augen und
verzehren sich in Thatendrang, ob schon rings umher
Noth an Arbeitern herrscht und alle Hände voll zu
thun wären. Sie möchten gern Jeder einen Tempel
errichten, schade nur, dass sie nicht weise genug
sind, das Steinbrechen als eine würdige Arbeit, den
kleinsten Anfang für einen Theil des Endes und
der Vollendung anzusehen.

(ibid., 497)

Kalckstein's visit to Glasgow produced a report similar to that
of Kohl's. Like Brandes, he, too, was impressed by the city's industr-
ial skyline, and, towering above all others, Tenant's chimney, "ebenso
imponirend und machtvoll wie die Monuments welche die Nationen ihren
Feldherrn und Staatsmännern setzen" (Kalckstein, 240). Again, like
Kohl, Kalckstein then singles out the business of the Campbell Brothers,
with its large staff and correspondingly successful output; he, too,
mentions in particular the tartan products. Even if these comments are not original, Kalckstein was himself prepared to concede Glasgow’s overriding importance to the country on account of its industry:

Repräsentirt Glasgow in der Zusammensetzung seiner Population das fluctuirende Element eines auf der Grundlage der gewerblichen Thätigkeit basirten Fortschritts, so ist dagegen durch Edinburg mehr die aristokratische Sphäre in Schottland vertreten.

(ibid., 241)

The sentimental Rellstab admits there are only two things he wants to see in Glasgow, the Cathedral, as described by Scott in Rob Roy, and "'The great Chimney' der das Hauptwunder der schottischen Fabrikstadt ist" (Rellstab, ii, 91). When he actually comes to see it he finds its dimensions hard to believe, remarking: "Es ist charakteristisch für eine Fabrikstadt wie Glasgow, dass ein Fabrikschornstein den Thurm der Hauptkirche so weit überragt! "(ibid., 99). Rellstab was content to hear about the chimney from his guides and view it from the safety of the Cathedral grounds. His guide tells him of the two lightning conductors on the top of the chimney and also of the pollution hazard. Rellstab had already been shocked by his first sight of Glasgow, hidden under a blanket of black smoke, the numerous chimneys ghostlike and uncanny in their appearance (ibid., 85); he cannot bring himself to like the city: "Reichthum mag hier herrschen; Glanz und Schönheit können sich kaum kund thun " (ibid., 89). It is thought that the Romantic traveller finds hard to accommodate, that nearly all the buildings in Glasgow are related in some way or other to industry. On the return to the station they pass the children coming out of an institutional building Rellstab takes to be a school; his guide soon corrects him; they are factory workers, pale, dirty and small. The sight occasions a tirade from Rellstab’s pen:

O Ihr schwarzen Dämpfe aus Schornsteinrissen! Dass Ihr die Wangen der Kinder so bleich färbt! Dass Ihr das Auge der heitern Jugend so trübe umflort! — Und vollendes scheuert mich, wenn ich das mächtige Gebäude Schwarzgrau, mit all den kleinen Fenstern ansiehe, das die enge Gasse noch enger und dunkler macht! Das also ist die Gefängnieshöhle, in der die Kindheit aller dieser Wesen vom achten Jahre an, verdumpfen muss! Und weshalb? Damit wir eine feinere baumwollener Weste, "ein feineres Tüchlein am Kittel" tragen! (ibid., 102)
He goes on to denounce the banishment of youthful happiness and the imposition of a living interment - for even when they are not working the children must breathe polluted air (ibid., 102f.).

Few of the above comments from the later visitors show a desire really to try to assess the effect of industry on contemporary life in Scotland; it was an aspect they preferred to neglect. Even Lewald makes further mention only of the Lead Mines at Bunaw, and that only fleetingly, as she passes the site on her way to Taynuilt (Lewald, ii, 531). In contrast to Rellstab’s description of the factory in Glasgow, Kalckstein is favourably impressed by the site and atmosphere of the large cotton mills at Doune, away from the smoke of the big city and correspondingly pleasantly situated (Kalckstein, 228). It is Kalckstein, too, who laments the lack of German industry. In talking in general terms of the Germans and the British, he writes:


It is not often that such an objective (if ponderous) analysis is attempted by one of the travellers and it is to Kalckstein’s credit that he at least endeavours to understand the reasons for the success of commercial and industrial life in Britain.

The comments made by the young student, Wichmann, add nothing new,
but they do appear to come from personal observation; after all Wichmann must have witnessed plenty of poverty while living and working in Musselburgh:

WENN MAN BEDENKT, DASS IN DEN VIELEN FABRIKEN, WELCHE GLASGOW BESITZT, BEI DENEN MAN FAST IMMER DAMPFMASECHINEN VERWENDET, ÜBER 100,000 MENSCHEN BEschäftigt werden, So WIRD MAN GEWEB GLAUBEN, DASS MAN WOHL SELTEN EINE GRÖSSERE MASSA VON EIENDEN, ZERLUMPTEN JAMMERGESTALTEN BEISAMMEN SIEHT, ALS WENN DES ABENDS DIESE FABRIKEN GESCHLOSSEN, UND JENE MASSA NOCH DIE STEHENDE BEVÖLKERUNG DER STRASSEN VERMEHRREN, WELCHE DIESELBE SCHON AM TAGE ZUM GROSSEN THEIL ANFÜHlt. IN EDINBURGH HERRSCHT IM VERGLEICH MIT DIESER STADT EINE WAHRHAFT ARISTOKRATISCHE RUHE.

(WICHMANN, 20f.)

A few Scotsmen, prominent in the history of Scottish and world technology, are mentioned by the travellers. The engineering feat carried out in Scotland in road building by General Wade has already been alluded to. Carus was to pay tribute to Thomas Telford in describing the Caledonian Canal and relating an anecdote which tells how Telford realised how to secure the sandy banks of the Canal by observing a fisherwoman cope with the same problem on a smaller scale (Carus, ii, 235f.). Kohl, having visited the Hunterian Museum and seen the exhibits and statue dedicated to James Watt, devotes two pages to the engineer, retelling the story of the young boy and the kettle as he found it in Arago's life of Watt (Kohl, i, 28f.).

The very presence of Nemnich and Meidinger in the country is evidence of the importance of Scotland to German trade. There were many Germans involved in trade and industry with Scotland at the time and many also settled in the country. In the Banavie Inn, Brandes was to meet a young man from Peine, near Hanover, whose involvement in the jute trade had brought him to Dundee (Brandes, 46), and Kalckstein writes of a German immigrant whom he met in his hotel in London:

Occasionally business took Herr C. home and a few years previously he had returned to visit the graves of Fichte, Schleiermacher and Hegel, and this prompts a conversation between Kalckstein and the merchant on this last philosopher. Whether or not Kalckstein's comments are undue praise of Berlin and his homeland, they do also point to the basis of German Scottish trade connexions and, more particularly, to the prominence of Leith as a merchant and trading centre.

In 1829 Klingemann had shown himself to be a traveller who could keep the romance of the Highlands and the prosaic progress of industry in perspective. He had lived long enough in England to be well aware of industrial conditions and commercial affairs, yet he was determined, while in Scotland with Mendelssohn, to enjoy his tour. Having just arrived on the steamer from Oban after the monumenta, if uncomfortable, trip to Fingal's Cave, he found himself in a different world:

In Glasgow aber sind siebenzig Dampfböte von denen täglich vierzig auslaufen und viele lange Schornsteine dampfen, ein treffliches Wirtshaus erquickt uns, in dem aber noch die Aufwärter mit zwei Händen und ebensoviel Füssen bedienen, weil's mit Dampf noch nicht ausgefunden ist. ... Heute Morgen waren wir in einer stupenden Baumwollspinnerei voll tollen Lärmens, so vielen, wie bei'ém göttlichen Wasserfall von Monass [sic], wo sitzt denn der Unterschied für's Ohr? Eine alte Arbeiterin bei dem Kratzfache hatte einen Baumwollkranz auf und eine andere hatte ihr Zahnweh damit verbunden. Hunderte von kleinen Mädchen quälen sich da früh und sehen gelb aus. Aber poetisch bleibt solche Geschichte immer. Die Ordnung wird erhaben und das Ganze verschlingt sich wie Jahreszeiten und Vegetation. Ich spass wenig und bewundere viel - die Zeiten sind gernicht so schlacht, wo Alles, es mag wollen oder nicht, weiter muss ...

(Klingemann, Hensel, 256)
Many seemed to shirk at the idea of the necessity and relentlessness of progress, while others preferred not even to try to detect poetry in an industrial scene: just as Förster was to flee the looming chimneys of Newcastle (Förster, 296), so Fontane would turn tail on those of Glasgow (Fontane, 316).

b) RURAL INDUSTRY

Durch eine zuerst ziemlich flache, fruchtbare Gegend gelangten wir in ein Thal von erhabener Schönheit. Hohe, wilde Felsen umgeben es von beiden Seiten. ... Tief unten rauscht und wogt der ziemlich breite Strom Tay. Kleine Kornfelder und Baumgärten grünen und blühen an den Ufern, zwischen ihnen zerstreuen sich einzelne Hütten. In einem tiefem Winkel, heimlich zwischen die Felsen gedrängt, sahen wir ein Dörfchen; Schearen fröhlicher Kinder trieben darin ihr lautes Spiel, die Mütter spannen in den Thuren, die Männer, in ihrer romantischen Tracht, waren in den Feldern und Garten beschäftigt. Das Ganze sah sehr fremd aus, und doch wieder so heimisch, so ruhig und zufrieden. (Schopenhauer, 308f.)

It would be comforting to think that life was always as calm and contented for Highland crofters but the romantic interpretation of rural Highland life, as expressed here by Schopenhauer, frequently precluded any real recognition of true conditions.

Since Germany was more of an agricultural than an industrial nation, one would assume that some of the travellers at least knew something of rural industry. Accordingly it might be expected that where interest was not paid to urban industry, it might have been paid to the other main sources of Scottish income, namely agriculture and fishing. After all, the inhabitants of those parts of Scotland which the German travellers so wanted to visit, the romantic Scott country and the Ossianic Highlands, lived very much off the land and the sea, seeking out for the most part a precarious living. Yet the turn of the century was a time of change and disruption in Scotland, with the Industrial Revolution on the one hand, and the Highland Clearances on the other; it must all have been puzzling for the foreign visitor. Nonetheless, the existence of desperately poor crofters cannot have escaped notice and
as her party travels from Dunkeld towards Kenmore and the scenery becomes wilder, the mountains higher and the crafts poorer, Schopenhauer, in her own way, does take note of this:

Despite herself Johanna could not escape the feeling that she was witnessing here a near idyllic scene of simple folk at one with nature; she does not stop to think what would happen if the all-important potato crop should fail, (as it was to do during the decade in which Carus and Kohl visited the country). Such was the scene Schopenhauer's eyes wished to see; any uncomfortable feelings were hurriedly suppressed, so that, from the comfort of the hotel at Killin, a lone fisherman on the loch merely served to complete this picture:

The romance was complete when the catch, an excellent sea trout, appeared miraculously on Schopenhauer's plate! This mood, which could so easily have been conjured up by Eichendorff's pen, is perhaps indicative of the unwillingness to show more than passing interest in rural industry, beyond a perception of agricultural scenes as an integral part of a romantic and picturesque landscape. It was the landscape as a whole and connotations of things past which attracted many visitors, rather than any interest or concern for things present.

Factual and informative accounts of rural industry in Scotland in the first quarter of the 19th century are to be expected from Nemnich and Meidinger, but even from these painstaking reporters there is little mention of the troubles of the time, the abject poverty, the struggling Highland economy and the result, the Highland Clearances. The picture
painted is on the whole bright; the importance of the fishing industry becomes apparent, as also do significant improvements in agricultural methods, and the fine quality of much of the livestock reared in the country. Some of the facts reported by Nemnich and Meidinger may be singled out here in order to provide the background for the non-statistical and more personal accounts of the other travellers. Nemnich's account is particularly full as regards rural industries, from crop growing to forestry, livestock-rearing to details of the foremost corn and cattle markets, whisky-distilling to kelp-burning and fishing for herring and cod to fishing for salmon and pearls. As regards his opinion of the state of arable land in Scotland, he was full of admiration for the crop yield in such fertile regions as the Carse of Gowrie and the three Dumfriesshire glens, Annan-, Nith- and Eskdale, but in his opinion, the rich fertile areas of Moray, formerly the "Kornboden und Obstgarten" of Scotland, had been left to waste, and where once fruit trees blossomed, there were now only ruined castles and monasteries (Nemnich, 564, 509 & 588). He cites many instances where more modern agricultural methods would produce greater yield and where locals were unwilling to desert traditional but unprofitable farming practices. He reports on some successes, too, notably in Sutherland, in Strathmore, where lime was spread to good effect, and in Aberdeenshire, where oats were in such abundance that much oatmeal was exported from Aberdeen (ibid., 595, 577 & 581). He was impressed that homegrown flax was spun and woven so successfully in the villages of Keith, New Deer and in Fraserburgh that a considerable trade had grown up between the latter port and the Baltic (ibid., 584 & 587). He writes of Perthshire's fine gardens and fruit, especially gooseberries, and was interested to learn that potatoes in Breadalbane were used in the making of starch, bread and spirit, while the country's best honey was reputed to come from Lecropt (ibid., 558, 555 & 557). Despite the excellence of Scotch whisky, however, Scottish barley was not as good for malt as English (ibid., 492). He mentions further the inventions and improvements of three Scotsmen which were already being used to good effect in their respective home counties, namely Andrew Meikle's threshing-machine in East Lothian, the winnowing-machine, invented in 1737 by Andrew Rodger of Hawick, and the
The agricultural improvements introduced in the last half of the 18th Century by William Dawson in Teviotdale (ibid., 488, 506f.). A less successful exploit had been attempted by Thomas Man, who, having been in America, had tried to introduce tobacco; the adventure had met with success until it had been stopped by the Government (ibid., 506). On Islay, on the other hand, there was no excise on whisky, "und dieser Malzgeist daher im allzugrossen Ueberflusse distillirt" (ibid., 708), which in turn necessitated importing large amounts of barley. Nemnich's account of the island indicates something of the state of contemporary farming knowledge; on the one hand much flax was grown and from £2,000 - £3,000 worth of yarn was exported each year, but on the other the grazing land was overused and many of the large numbers of cattle which were brought to the island each year perished. A similar fate met many of the sheep on the Orkney Islands, though eagles, dogs and thieves also took their share (ibid., 719).

Twenty years later Meidinger's reports are less detailed but contain more personal comment. In his view, for instance, the cause of the wild and barren land round Fort William lay in the outdated feudal system, whereby absentee landlords from London and Edinburgh owned large estates; on the other hand, he recognised that the fine cattle of Caithness owed their healthy condition to the wealth of their owner, the Duke of Sutherland (Meidinger, Reisen, 85 & 71). Indeed, he gives full credit to the best known of the 'improving' lairds of the North, whose reputation had spread to the Continent:


In his index Meidinger gives lists of the Scottish wool towns and villages, corn and livestock markets, each numbering twenty-one (ibid., 215ff.). Both he and Nemnich pay particular attention to the largest of these; Nemnich reports of the Annual Trysts by Falkirk, for instance,
that over 60,000 cattle were sold to England each year for meat (Nemnich, 552). Maidinger tells how whole herds were driven down from the hills to the markets and on into England, sometimes 80,000 in all; "Diese Ochsen sind sehr klein, fast wie grosse Kälber, mit kurzen Hörnern, und von dunklem, langem und wollichten Haar. Dabei aber munter und rasch und von zartem Fleisch" (Maidinger, Briefe, 164). He finds the cattle drovers as interesting as their animals and describes their checked plaids and stout sticks; he stresses the importance of the drove roads, especially where bridges were necessary, as at Bonar Bridge (ibid. Reisen, 70). Other livestock also earned Nemnich's attention, especially the goats of the Island of Arran, whose milk was supplied for the popular dairy cures there, the fine Dunlop cows, whose cheese was famous and who produced 40 quarts of milk a day or 8 - 9 pounds of butter a week, the Calloway horses, reputedly descended from animals stranded from the Spanish Armada, the Clydesdales, bred from six Flanders horses brought to Scotland in the 17th Century by the Duke of Hamilton and crossed with a local breed, and the small animals in the Northern and Western Isles, especially the cattle, pigs and ponies of Shetland, but above all the sheep of Shetland and Rum, valuable for their delicate meat and soft coats (Nemnich, 707, 515, 572, 578, 724, & 714). The fame of Aberdeen pork was widespread in the early years of the century; it lasted especially well on long sea-voyages and was thus in great demand from the Dutch, who used it on their East India ships (Nemnich, 581). Finally, interest in the Cheviot sheep was rife. Nemnich discovered that the breed was ousting the traditional Highland sheep on Mull, but he considered them particularly fine animals and was gratified to learn that most of the 26,000 sheep in the small county of Roxburghshire belonged to the breed (ibid., 711 & 506). He does not, however, pause to consider the social implications and the possibility that the Cheviot might be of more value to Scottish lairds than their tenants.

Rural industry was fast changing at this time. While Nemnich was disappointed to find almost nothing left of the Caledonian Forest, he was pleased to learn that planned forestry was coming into its own, albeit under the supervision not of the Scots, but of the Englishmen of the London Timber Company (ibid., 480, 588f.). On the coast kelp-burning had ceased to be a major source of income and was being superseded by fishing. Both Nemnich and Maidinger considered the fishing
industry of supreme importance to Scotland; in some parts of the country, especially the North West, they observed that agriculture had suffered directly from the growth of fishing, since the locals preferred to make certain money from fish to tilling cultivable, but hard, ground. Nemnich lists many fishing-villages and towns up and down the country; Prestonpans for instance, was famous for its oysters, Portnookie for salted and dried shell-fish, cod and roach, Montrose for lobsters, 60 - 70,000 of which were exported annually to London, and Greenock, once a herring-fishing village, now sent successful cod-fishing vessels to Nova Scotia and Newfoundland (Nemnich, 489, 587, 576 & 540ff.). Nemnich reports, too, that birding was as important as fishing on the islands of St. Kilda, Orkney and Shetland, and his list of Orkney exports reveals the extent of the islanders' reliance on the sea: as well as stockings and yarn, livestock and rabbits, they exported seaweed and kelp, otter and sealskins, blubber, feathers and dried fish (ibid., 718f. & 724). Perhaps the main contribution of the Northern Isles was that they provided shelter and supplies for many Greenland ships, but especially for the many Dutch and Danish boats which gathered to wait for the huge shoals of herring in early summer. (ibid., 720, 726 & 726, Maidinger, Reisen, 76f.). Maidinger tells how the Dutch, who had long mastered the art of salting fish, had formerly enjoyed the monopoly of the fishing grounds; in 1703 six French warships destroyed their 500-strong fleet and since that date others had learnt to share the catch, several hundred thousand tons' worth:

Die Heringe kommen hier aus dem Eismeer im Januar in grossen Zügen (oft von 5 bis 6 engl. M. lang und 3 breit) und so dicht aneinander, dass sie die Oberfläche des Meers verändern. Zuweilen gehen sie auf den Meeresgrund, zuweilen erheben sie sich wieder, und blinken im Sonnenschein wie so viele Millionen glänzender Punkte. (Maidinger, Reisen, 76f.)

At the time of Nemnich's visit the Dutch still came in large numbers to fish the Peterhead coast; indeed, they had previously offered vast sums for the Keith Inch, enough silver to cover the whole area (Nemnich, 583). But the Scots were at last beginning to fish for cod as well as herring and many thousands of salted barrels were sent to London each year from Peterhead. Twenty years later Maidinger reports that a higher sum was
paid per barrel if the fish were for export and that as a result, foreign trade had grown to such an extent that in 1826 the first Scottish herring reached Hamburg before the first Dutch fish (Meidinger, ibid., 77ff.) Both Nemnich and Meidinger write of the purpose-built fishing-centres of Ullapool and Tobermory; by the 1820's Meidinger could report that Tobermory was the largest fishing-village in Scotland, having 1,274 boats (Nemnich, 594, 711 & Meidinger, Reisen, 87).

The inland salmon and trout fishing was also important and both writers cite statistics to support this, even though Nemnich was aware of the growing problem of industrial pollution in the inland waters, especially in Renfrewshire (Nemnich, 536). New methods of packing and preserving salmon in ice were being successfully carried out in Perth and Dundee (Nemnich, 563, 574 & Meidinger, Reisen, 48, 53), and were of sufficient topical interest to catch the attention of the librarian, Spiker, on his tour of 1816. From Perth he tells of the ice-packing, pickling and kippering of the Tay salmon, transported twice a week to London (Spiker, 231). It is interesting that Spiker visited not only the usual sights when in Glasgow, namely the principal public institutions, but also Mr. Harley's Cow-House, and he gives a detailed description of the dairy (ibid., 293f.). While this interest is commendable, he makes no further mention of either farming, agriculture or fishing on his Scottish tour, although he was duly impressed by the more aesthetic ornamental plants and larches growing in the Duke of Atholl's grounds at Dunkeld.

The following year Meissner was also to comment on the success of Scottish horticulture. On his travels he had met the gardener from Scone and the latter invited him to visit; having been shown round the hot houses, filled with excellent and exotic fruits, Meissner comes to support the opinion that the Scottish fruit growers are the most accomplished in Britain. Previously he had been surprised by the availability and reasonable prices of these fruits in Edinburgh, but now he can appreciate the situation; when the rich landowners are away, mostly travelling on the Continent, their fruits are available for sale, both in Edinburgh and in London:

Meissner takes more than passing interest in certain aspects of rural life. When he takes a boat over to Inchtavannach from Lues, he notices the sheep grazing on most of the islands around him and he asks his old boatman why there are no shepherds. The latter replies that the animals never stray far and will often return to their home herd even after having been sold forty miles away:

The importance of Inveraray as a fishing centre was immediately evident to all visitors, and Meissner is no exception, praising Loch Fyne, "die den Leckermäulern deshalb wichtig ist, weil die Heringe, die man hier fängt, für die besten der ganzen Welt gehalten werden" (ibid., 247). Because of this, and its strategic position, Inveraray was frequently filled with trippers escaping from the Glasgow factories to the tastes and sounds of Nature. Meissner is also one of the first to contradict Dr. Johnson's statement concerning Scotland's lack of trees: 17
Meissner had written this when approaching Inverness, where he had seen some fine trees. The Borders had made a contrasting impression on Holzenthal, however, some years earlier:

Vergleicht eucht Du die Wälder der deutschen Heimath, das Land ist fast ganz Holz arm. Durch die vielfaltigen Einfälle der Engländer bei den langwierigen, durch mehrere Jahrhunderte fortdauernden Kriegen mit den Schotten, litten vorzüglich diese Grenzgegenden, und die ehemaligen caledonischen Wälder verschwanden, so, dass der bekannte Etrik Forest [sic], der über ganz Selkirkshire und verschiedene andere Distrikte sich verbreitete, jetzt nur noch in der Geschichte existirt.

(Holzenthal, 208)

Steps were being made to remedy the situation and Holzenthal notes several carefully nurtured young plantations. Having spent two years in rural Scotland, Holzenthal was in a position to comment on farming in the Borders. He was struck most by the scattered population, caused, in his opinion, by unfair distribution of land. The Duke of Buccleuch owned all the land round Hawick, so that, instead of villages as in Germany, there were only a few isolated tenant farms and perhaps one or two meagre huts. As a result the farmers had to seek hired labour from the towns at harvest-time at a very high price, two shillings a day for women and children and 2/6d. for men. Moreover, the lack of manual workers had brought about the introduction of water-powered threshing machines, which Holzenthal finds unsatisfactory, in that they mangled the straw. He goes on to give accounts of the skilled dyking and hedging, crop growing, ploughing, hay-making, cattle and sheep rearing. Several factors surprised him: no rye, and very little barley was grown, peas were baked with barley into scones, turnips grew to an extraordinary size, but were only used for cattle fodder, very little fruit ripened and vegetable growing was uncommon and mostly restricted to town-dwellers. Although cattle rearing differed little from that of North Germany, Holzenthal was impressed by the large size of the cows' udders, the
reputed hardiness of the black Highland cattle and the sheep, the fact that they wintered outdoors, the beneficial effect of the competition at the livestock shows, and lastly, the stocky Galloway ponies and the extraordinarily fast full-blooded horses, which could fetch up to 400 guineas, and were bred by the wealthy farmers and landowners.

1830-60 Kohl’s interest in farming was well roused as he journeyed across Scotland. He refers but fleetingly to fishing, however, being more interested in the peculiarities and consequent social implications of the fishing communities themselves. He devotes two pages to the fishing villages of Newhaven and Musselburgh and to those on the North-East coast, but his interest lay in the habits and customs of these fisherfolk themselves, with their possible Danish or Norwegian ancestry, and their reluctance to lose this to local Scottish life and tradition. He compares this with Latvian fishing communities living in Prussia on the Baltic coast, Estonians living amongst the Latvians in Kurland, Swedish amongst the Estonians in Latvia and Estonia and Cossack fishing communities on the Black Sea, living amongst Tartar, Wallach (Rumanian) and other peoples. On the North Sea, too, there were similar situations, where Helgoland people fished from the mouths of the Weser and Elbe, and also Frisian colonies (Kohl, 1, 90ff.).

In the thirty years which had passed since Holzenthal was in Scotland, the country’s forests had greatly expanded and Kohl was witness to this. He, too, refers to Dr. Johnson’s comment that a tree in Scotland was as much of a rarity as a horse in Venice, and adds: “Nun dank sei es dem Herzog von Atholl und mehr den anderen solchen eifriefen Sumpfplanzern, die in neuerer Zeit aufgetreten sind, diese ist jetzt nicht mehr wahr” (ibid., 213). Dr. Johnson had also noted that almost all those trees which he did see had been newly planted and Kohl deduces from this that the previous century must have seen great tree-planting activity. He goes on to give an account of the land’s evolution from its first bare state as it emerged from the ocean to its subsequent aforestation and denuding of trees by Man,
Even so, unlike Meissner, Kohl must agree in part with Johnson's comments of 70 years before, since he still finds much of Scotland bare, "und das Land könnte immerhin noch ein Paar Dutzend solcher für Waldpflanzung leidenschaftlich eingenommener patriotischer Herzöge von Atholl brauchen" (ibid.). It was from Dunkeld that Kohl made these remarks, where the most commonly planted tree was the larch. He tells how the Duke had first imported two larch trees from the Tyrol in 1737 and transplanted the seedlings, now fine tall trees. His guide tells him that one alone had been calculated to contain 396 cubic feet of wood, and this reminds Kohl of two cypress trees in the Crimea, the ancestors of all the cypress in that country. The fact that tree planters seldom live long enough to see the benefits for themselves is to Kohl the reason for their scarcity; the Duke of Atholl was an exception, since he had lived to see several of his larch go to build a 36-gun frigate. At Taymouth, Kohl was to see the oak and spruce which had been ceremoniously planted by Victoria and Albert on their visit. He approves of this as a token contribution to much-needed planting, which others would do well to emulate (ibid., ii, 23f.).

Later, as he journeyed along Loch Tay, he was told of a landowner, named Marcus, who had planted 25,000 spruce near the loch. He compares the situation in Scotland with that in Poland:

So verschieden sind die Länder, dass in dem einen es für ein Lob und ein Zeichen des Fortschritts gilt, was in dem anderen ein Zeichen der Uncultur genommen wird. So muss man z.B. von Hochschottland sagen: "Dieses Land ist noch weit in der Cultur zurück, denn es ist fast ganz kahl," wogegen man in Bezug auf Polen klagt: "Das ganze Land ist noch barbarisch und zur Hälfte Wald." (ibid., ii, 70f.)

It is such comparative comments which give Kohl's work its sense of balance and breadth. Having viewed the Falls of Achermden, Kohl cannot resist describing "eine kleine Curiosität des Loch Tay" (ibid., 33) for his readers; since he cannot adequately describe a waterfall, he contented himself with a description of something he had encountered nowhere else in the world:

Es waren diese nämlich einige "natural closees" (natürliche Knäule), wie meine Schotten sie nannten, von den Nadeln der Lärchenbäume. Diese Knäule, sagten mir die Leute, entstanden von einer natürlichlichen Zusammenballung der Lärchennadeln, die in den
He asks leave to take to pieces one of those hung up in the hermitage for the benefit of visitors and proceeds to describe it in detail.

As a professional geographer and traveller, Kohl made a conscious effort to experience agriculture and farming at first hand. He excuses a three-page account of drainage as follows:

Es ist unmöglich, mit Schotten einige Zeit zusammenzusitzen, ohne dass das Gespräch auch alsbald auf Gegenstände der Agricultur verfällt. Denn es ist diese ein Zweig menschlicher Thätigkeit, in welchem Schottland in der letzten Zeit so reissende Fortschritte gemacht hat, dass, wenn auch einige, doch nicht grosse Uebertriebung dabei sein möchte, wenn meine Freunde behaupteten: "the Scotch farmers beat the English three times over". ... Das Wichtigste von allen schottischen Ackerbaudingen ist die "Drainage" ... Und ich habe so unsaglich viel von "drainage", von "draining-system" und von "drains" in Schottland hören müssen, dass auch meine Leser es sich gefallen lassen mögen, hier etwas davon zu vernehmen, was sie nicht verweigern werden, da die Sache noch auserdem sehr interessant ist. (ibid., 11f.)

Kohl considers that many German-speaking areas, whose land is similar to that of Scotland (such as Kurland and Latvia) would do well to learn from the Scottish drainage system, which he in turn likens to Persian irrigation methods. The art of drainage is relatively new, und erst seit fünfzig Jahren haben die Schotten ihr Land wie die Maulwürfe unterminirt. Der auserordentliche Schwung und Fortschritt, der in die schottischen Ackerbauverhältnisse gekommen ist, ist ein um so merkwürdigeres Phänomen, da dieser Zweig der menschlichen Thätigkeit sonst in der Regel derjenige ist, der die allerlangsamen Fortschritte macht. Er liegt in der Regel in den Ketten uralter, schwer zu ändernder Rechtsgewohnheiten und ist in den Händen von einsam lebenden, ungebildeten Menschen, die den Mittelpunkten der Cultur und des Fortschritts, den Städten, fern sind. Es wäre sehr der Mühe wert, einmal zu zeigen, wie es komme, dass der Ackerbau, trotz seiner langsamen Natur, in Schottland einen Geschwindschritt der Entwicklung gegangen ist, wie in anderen Ländern kaum die freiesten und ungebundensten Gewerbe. (ibid., 14f.)

Descriptions such as that of the peat diggers with their barrows on the slopes of Ben Lawers are typical of Kohl’s observant awareness.
of rural life. In one sentence he takes in the essence of Highland life:

Das kleine schwarze rauhe Hochlandvieh, die kleinen weissen zottigen Pferde, die grossen schwarzköpfigen getheerten Schafe, die niedrigen heidebedeckten Rauchhütten, der Ben Lawers von der Rechten, der Ben Lawers von der Linken, der Ben Lawers von vorn, der Ben Lawers von hinten — denn wir gingen beinahe rund um ihn herum — und endlich eine unzählige Menge solcher kleinen Weidengeflächtkarren, wie einer auf dem Landseer'schen Bilde zu sehen ist, — diese waren die Dinge, welche uns auf dem Reste unserer Reise nach Killin begegneten.

(ibid., 71)

He also refers to the animals in his description of Landseer's "Highland Drovers" (ibid., 53f.). The sturdy white Highland ponies and the shaggy black Highland cattle had become a familiar sight to him as he toured across the Highlands. He first encountered Highland cattle at Taymouth; on entering the castle he was impressed by a mounted bull's head, inscribed as a "Dun Bull of the purest West-highland breed, a good figured and a brave looking animal" (ibid., ii, 19). There were more besides; Kohl remarks that never in his life had he seen bulls' heads in such elegant surroundings, nor does he consider that any other nation would take its fondness for such creatures to this extreme.21 The breed itself interested him as one of the oldest and purest in the British Isles:

Sie sind Aborigines des Bodens, haben die ausgesuchtesten Eigenschaften, und wenn sie von der mageren und morastigen Weide in Argyleshire zu den fetten Wiesen der Lowlands hinabsteigen, so liefern sie die schönsten Roastbeefs von ganz England.

(ibid., 20)

Devoting an entire chapter to his commentary on Landseer's painting,22 Kohl has plenty opportunity to tell of the drovers, their animals, the topsmen and the wild raids of former times. He also relates the tale of a sly drover, returning home with his pay, confronted by an English highwayman, yet able to outwit him (ibid., 44ff.). The small size of the Highland cattle and the fact that some were hornless surprised Kohl, as did the fact that the animals wintered out, with often only a part-roofed shed as shelter; he likens the latter to cattle shelters he had
seen in Southern Russia (ibid., 25 & 89). As he and his guide travelled on from Killin, they met some drovers returning from market:

Die Leute waren sehr wenig von ihrem Markte erbaut. Der Tarif Sir Robert's, (23) dem Sie Alles zuschrieben, machte ihnen trübe Augen und melancholische Mienen. Sie hatten nur weniges von ihrem Vieh verkaufen wollen, weil ihnen die Preise zu niedrig gewesen waren, und nun wollten sie irgendwo die Thiere überwintern, um zu sehen, ob sie vielleicht im Frühlinge bessere Preise bekämen. Vor allen Dingen aber wollten sie in Killin, das sie am gestrigen Abend nicht hatten erreichen können, ihren Sonntag feiern.

(ibid., 89)

It was at Taymouth, too, that Kohl saw a dairy-house with which he was much impressed; he had seen many in the parks and grounds of country houses and stately homes throughout Britain, indeed he calls them "die delicatetesten und reizendsten 'Dairies' von der Welt" (ibid., 24), yet this one he found particularly charming, in that it was built of snow-white limestone, so that it looked like "ein Palast aus gefrorener Milch" (ibid.), the white porcelain milk-pails adding to the overall effect. Kohl waxes quite lyrical over the relative joys of dairies and dairy produce; compared to the unpleasant aspects of wine or beer processing, the pure white milk, golden yellow butter and cheese and sweet-smelling hay fodder to be found in a dairy, "dies Alles bringt liebliche Ideenverbindingen zu Wege". He checks himself in time, however: "Freilich der Dünger etc.: - jedes Ding hat ja auch seine schwache Seite." (ibid., 25).

As regards the Highland blackface sheep, Kohl was fascinated by the practice of tarring the lambs to protect them both from the rigours of winter and from mites. On encountering two crofters with black hands from tarring, he learnt for the first time of this practice, which he believes to be peculiar to Scotland. He describes the procedure, from the mixing of the tar and butter solution to the blackened hands, and likens it once more to a little Russian tradition, where the shepherds tar their smocks, as protection against both dirt and bugs (ibid., 36f.). The men he met later at the farm on the road to the Trossachs had also been tarring, or "smuiring" [Kohl's own transliteration] the sheep; Kohl reports that it was a long task of several days - for 30 sheep they needed one barrel of tar mixture, ten pints of tar and a stone of
butter. With a herd of anything from 3 - 5,000 sheep this was an undertaking which astonished the German (ibid., 108f.). Of the few living creatures he met on his walking tour of the Highlands, shepherds and their dogs seemed to be the most common. Once back in the Lowlands, he notes the Cheviot breed and reports how it was daily taking over from the Blackface, even in parts of the Highlands: "Sonderbar ist es, dass jetzt, seitdem die Menschen hier zu kriegen aufgehört, die Schafe gegen einander einen Krieg begonnen haben" (ibid., 232f.). One could argue that this was very much a deliberate 'war', waged by and against humans.

It was an unusual occurrence for a foreign traveller to stay as a private guest on a Highland sheep farm and Kohl evidently learned much from his stay, both about the people themselves and their farm. It appears that six farmers, all of the Clan Stuart and tenants of the Earl of Moray, had combined their stock, amounting in all to 5 - 6,000 sheep, and farmed and lived as one community, a "Stuartich". It was quite a family, maids and farm hands attesting the comparative wealth of these Stuarts. The most senior of the Mr. Stuarts shows Kohl round house and holding, there being nine cows and two horses besides the sheep. A convivial evening in the servants' hall follows; peat and tobacco leaves are roasted in the fire - Kohl is anxious lest the latter might be mutton chops and fears for his teeth! - and the customary dram offered. Once more Kohl found customs to compare with the Russian: he learns of the spearing of fish as in Kurland and is surprised to see one long log, still with its branches, being burnt slowly from one end only, just as he had seen it amongst the Tartars in the Caucasus (ibid., 110). He was similarly surprised that all present, servants and masters alike, could read and write.

Finally, Kohl was greatly impressed with the agricultural museums to be found in Scotland. He visited several of these, describing in some detail his visit to the best known, Drummonds' Agricultural Museum in Stirling. Having told the tale of Donald the Hammer, as related by both Scott and Tyler, in which the Highland laird discovers that tilling the land is profitable and a task fit for a gentleman, instead of the degrading labour he had previously held it to be (ibid., 159f.), Kohl goes on to show how advanced the Scots now were in the field of agriculture. Seedsmen and nurserymen such as Drummonds & Sons served their
countrymen admirably, in supplying both seeds and seedlings, implements and tools. Since the last battle had been fought on Scottish soil "... seit welcher das Schwert in die Pflugschar, und der Speer in das Oculirmesser verwandelt wurde" (ibid., 160f.), the Scots had been able to concentrate their tool-making ability on farm improvements. Drummonds had established their museum in 1831 and Kohl considers it probably the finest of its kind in the world. He makes mention of two other such museums in Scotland, Lawsons in Edinburgh and Dickson & Turnbulls in Perth, both of which he also visited.

In his account of the Agricultural Museum Kohl mentions first the varied soil specimens, categorised according to year and treatment; the variety of manures particularly impressed him, since many practical and original alternatives were suggested. Earlier he had commented on the lime kilns to be seen almost by every farm or croft all over the Highlands, from elaborate to the most primitive; lime-spraying was yet another novelty for him (ibid., 70). He describes the samples of seeds and plants, fodder and crops, writing in particular of turnips and potatoes, remarking also that certain vegetables seem to have been introduced from Germany, since the Scots had given them the German names, for example "Kohl-Rabi" and "Mangold-Wurzel". As a German he was surprised that rye was scarce in Scotland, suffering the indignity of being used as fodder only. He sees this as an indication of regional staple diets: whereas the collective word "Korn" was used to designate rye in North Germany, in Scotland "corn" meant oats in the Highlands and wheat in the Lowlands. Kohl found the museum's display of different cereals - wheat, sago, pearl barley - and types of malt and cheese extensive and the collection of agricultural implements most interesting. Indeed, to Kohl the collection cannot fail to be of interest if the visitor is taken round by a Mr. Drummond or by the well known Mr. Smith of Deanston, "der erste und mit Hand und Feder thätigte Landwirth Schottlands" (ibid., 165f.), who can explain on the spot how to make real Ayrshire cheese, the best of all Scottish cheeses, whilst remarking that, in order to procure the purest cheese, Scots dairymen are now ensuring that in their dairies they have only cows that produce the same quality milk.

Ich möchte wohl einmal die Verwunderung Virgil's belauschen, wenn man ihm ein solches Museum zeigen
könnte, wo er tausend Instrumente sehen könnte, den Boden zu graben, zu kehren, zu zerbröckeln, zu zearbeiten, von denen er selbst in den schönsten Träumen seines Ackerbaugedichtes keine Ahnung hatte. (ibid., 166)

Faced with this advanced display, Kohl cannot but contrast it with primitive methods used by European farmers and peasants; European agriculture, he concludes, still dependent on the most basic tools, on a pick, a shovel, a plough, a harrow, a hoe and a flail, is only in its infancy. And compared with agriculture, horticulture is far advanced; even the half-dozen varieties of wheat in Scotland cannot compete with the huge variety of fruits, plants and flowers, known to such masters of ornamental gardening as Pückler-Muskau. Kohl attempts to give only a brief outline of the museum's display, but even so he devotes several more pages to seeding-machines, dung-spreaders, ploughs, harrows, mowing and threshing machines, all the tools needed to perfect the art of drainage, also dairy implements, farming garments and, last but not least, fencing methods. The fencing system in Scotland was also foreign to a German, although Kohl cites equivalents in the stone walls of Holstein and the wooden palings, ditches and earth mounds, protecting gardens and fields in Prussia and Kurland. But these were wasteful methods and Kohl praises the different samples of hedges and iron fences he saw in the museum, in particular the "invisible fences", painted green, which were unknown in Germany.

Kohl dreams of an age when all Europe will be fenced and farmed in the most rational, economical and productive way possible, when labour-saving machines will work fast and efficiently and when progress will have spread throughout the world (ibid., 172f.). A start had been made in the many horticultural and agricultural societies in Britain, and of these he singles out the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, through whose influence Scotland had been able to export farm implements and methods not only to England, Wales and Ireland, but also to Germany, to Australia and Canada, and across the Indian Ocean and the South Seas.

Kohl commends these museums highly:

Büsten und Portraits berühmter schottischer Ackerwirte, Ansichten schottischer Landschaften zieren die weiten Räume, reizende Sammlungen schöner und selten Blumen erlauben einem zu Zeiten, wenn man sich an den nützlichen Rüben und Kartoffeln satt
Such museums were not only instructive, but also provided a pleasure-outing fit for gentlefolk; they should be included on every foreign tour.

Kohl returned for a second visit to the Drummond Museum, "wohin wir Deutschen nie zurückkehren können, ohne etwas Neues zu sehen" (ibid., 183). This time he interested himself in the many sorts of knives and shears, from grafting tools to "kleine zierliche Messer oder Haken an langen Armen 'to take out weeds for Gentlemen walking about with'" (ibid., 184). Not only did each of these tools provide further evidence of the advanced state of British agriculture, but they also afforded insights into the British domestic way of life. Finally, Kohl found one aspect of farming of which the Germans seemed to have more understanding than the Scots, namely pumpkin-growing. He saw many fine specimens of the vegetable in seedmen's shop windows, but they were purely decorative, and he found it extraordinary that nobody, not even the poorest of Scots people, knew how to cook it. He muses on how many lives could be saved if the practice of cooking and eating pumpkin were introduced into the country.

Two years later, on being told of the museum of W. Drummond & Sons, the King of Saxony delayed his departure from Stirling in order to visit the establishment. The party was accompanied by the Provost and all were impressed with what they saw. Carus is less convinced than Kohl however, that German agriculture will be as easy to revolutionise as Scots; he sees far too wide a gulf in Germany between the peasant farmer and the scientist and innovator. All new methods are viewed with suspicion, as an artist might view a dilettante.

Anders in England und Schottland, wo kein besonderer Stand den Ackerbautreibenden vom Städtler oder Gelehrten unterscheidet, und eben darum fließt unaufgehalten in Saft und Blut der Erde, was im
Verstand und Sinn des Gelehrten neu und kräftig entspringt. (Carus, ii, 279f.)

This is surely a simplification of the situation in Scotland, but there is no doubt that farming was considered a profitable science amongst the educated classes in Scotland, and since many of these people were landowners, it followed that they should attempt to implement as much advancement as they could. Carus had already noticed the widespread use of a newly designed plough and he now describes some of the other new farm implements he sees in the museum, from a varied selection of harrows to horse and cattle shoes, from cheese presses to attachable harness lights. He also saw the seed and plant specimens and was interested by the geological display of fossils; he felt sure the exhibits concerning drainage and the different methods suggested would be of benefit to many Germans. He concludes:

Mir, dem Gegenstände solcher Art eigentlich ferner liegen, war doch das Ganze noch eine sehr dankenswerte Vervollständigung eines lebendigen Bildes dieses grossen merkwürdigen Insellandes ... Für mich, dem bisher über die Fortschritte der Feldwirtschaft Englands und Schottlands noch so wenig anschaulich geworden war, hatte diese Sammlung, welche auch die Aufmerksamkeit Sr. Majestät hochlich in Anspruch nahm, einen sehr wichtigen Fingerzeig gegeben.

(ibid., 281f.)

As Carus himself admits, he had taken little note of agriculture during his tour. Earlier in his account, while discussing Britain in general terms, he writes of the land structure, the importance of coal and the mineral springs, and, borrowing a phrase from his friend Tieck, also of the absence of any true forest, of Britain's "Waldeinsamkeit" (ibid., i, ch. VI). While in Dunkeld the picturesque scenery and ruined Cathedral absorbed most of Carus' interest, but he does mention in passing that he had seen the famous larches, and that one of them was 15 foot in circumference (ibid., ii, 271). Rain did not stop Carus from walking down to the pier at Inveraray to watch the gutting and the salting of the herring, and he describes the scene with genuine interest: "Das Ganze gewährte hier im Kleinen die deutlichste Vorstellung von diesem so viele Millionen dieser Geschöpfe für den Welthandel vorrichtenden Geschäft" (ibid., 203).

During the previous decade, the 1830's, two travellers had presented opposing pictures of Scottish agriculture. On the one hand Raumer paid tribute to the enlightened attitudes of Scottish landowners,
especially with regard to agricultural wages (Raumer, 1835, ii, 378),
and on the other Hallberg-Broich typically sceptical and, wherever
possible, derisive. He admitted that the land round Edinburgh was
beautiful, rich and well cultivated, but once he was two [German]
Nmiles out of the city, he found himself suddenly in a land as bare as
the Russian Steppes, once cultivated, but now empty of men and cul-
tivation (Hallberg-Broich, 59). Nor was he impressed with a collection
of farm implements and machinery, which he saw in Edinburgh, and which
alle in Deutschland nachgemacht worden sind, und
hier wie dort mehr zum Spielwerk des menschlichen
Geistes dienen, weil sie selten angewendet werden.
Ich wunderte mich über die Schönheit mehrerer
Feldfrüchte, welche in Büchsen aufgehängt waren,
und man antwortete mir, sie seyen in Gärten
gezogen, was um so gewisser, da alle Feldfrüchte,
welche ich bis jetzt in England gesehen, schlecht
und mager aussehe. Die Stallfütterung ist
unbekannt, sie haben daher keinen Dünger, welchen
ich auch nur bei wenigen Häusern und in sehr kleinen
Haufen sahe. Hauf und Getreide wird auch hier bei
den Häusern aufgebaut, und die Schotten haben
weder Scheuren noch ordentliche Kuhställe, und
was ich bis jetzt von der in Deutschland so
hochgepriesenen englischen Kultur überhaupt sahe,
war alles im schlechtesten Zustand.

(ibid., 58)

If nothing else, this gives another side to the picture; there is no
doubt that much of the farming in Scotland was very primitive. At
least Hallberg was observant of farming practices. He considered
rotation methods and manuring uneconomical in the long run, and while
he notes that the Scottish farmers' practice of manuring the fields
with fish was also carried out by coastal farmers in Norway and
Sweden, he comments wryly that a German farmer would rather eat the fish
(ibid., 62). He was on the whole less critical of the farming in the
North, yet he was also well aware that the land was only well cultivated
where there was a wealthy landlord. Having described the barren peaty
land between Inverness and Wick, with few, if any, humans, cattle or
sheep to be seen, he writes:

Endlich kommt man zu grossen kultivirten Feldern,
wo Rüben, Hafer, Weizen, Korn, Gerste und Kart-
offeln wachsen und ein Lord seinen Sitz hat.
Klee habe ich in ganz England nur selten angetrof-
fen, alle Früchte waren jetzt im halben September

(ibid., 77)

The meagre potato patch allowed each family by their hut was in his eyes more than insufficient payment:

da für müssen sie arbeiten, wie in Russland; durch das herrschende Lehnsystem sind sie an den Boden und an die Sklaverei gekettet, und ich hoffe, der Lord wird diesen Armen eben so, wie Russland den Sklaven, helfen müssen, damit durch ihren Hungertod ihm nicht die Arbeit entgeht; aber alle diese Armen sind elender, als ich sie in Polen und Russland sah. Der Engländer nennt freilich diese Menschen frei, übt aber die Macht des Reichthums so über sie aus, dass sie hungern, wenn der Russe sich satt isst.

(ibid., 78)

For Hallberg the social issues were too controversial to leave much room for praise of the large fields of turnips, oats, barley, corn, wheat and potatoes, even if they in themselves were a considerable achievement.

In Wick Hallberg saw evidence of the busy herring trade; he reports that several thousand million fish found their way abroad each year, packed in barrels. At the time of his visit the fisherfolk were complaining of the damage done to their trade by Russia’s unfairly high customs duties: on the other hand they found their own import taxes on so many foreign goods quite fair. Hallberg goes on to confirm his poor opinion of the farming in the North:

Überall sehe ich den Ackerbau schlecht betrieben; die Felder bleiben gewöhnlich ohne Nutzen sechs Jahre liegen, damit das Unkraut als Dünger dient. Die Kühe werden nur im Winter, wenn der Schnee zu hoch ist, in schlechte Löcher eingesperrt und übel gehalten.

(ibid., 79)
Even though he was to find much of the land in Aberdeenshire and Perthshire well cultivated, Hallberg still found much to criticise, such as the lack of cattle and manure for the fields, which consequently for years yield only poor grass; also the insufficient facilities for stabling the cattle in the winter:

Die Früchte stehen wie in allen Gegenden aufgebarnt an den Häusern der Farmers, weil sie keine Scheuern haben, umgeben von vielen sehr elenden Hütten mit einem kleinen Stück Grund. Sie sind die Sklaven des Pächters, dem sie arbeiten müssen.

(ibid., 86)

He did praise the wheelless iron Scottish plough, however: "er verdient in allen Ländern eingeführt zu werden" (ibid., 80), but, in keeping with his earlier comments, the overall impression of social injustice remains. As he leaves Scotland, he writes:

Das Land von Edinburgh bis Berwick ist gut angebaut, hat grosse Felder, aber elende Hütten, das Volk dabei sehr arm, ohne Land, wahre Sklaven der Pächter. Sagt man ihnen, sie seyen freie Engländer, so erwidern sie: Kann ein Volk frei genannt werden, wo Einer Alles und Alle Nichts haben?

(ibid., 88)

Hallberg saw so much room for social reform that he was not prepared to praise the success of the agricultural reforms of the wealthy minority. As Förster travelled south from the Pentlands into Lanarkshire in 1851, he was to find the countryside strangely devoid of human life. He reflects on the social implications; though less vehement, his impressions are comparable with those of Hallberg:


(Förster, 347)

Kohl, travelling the same stretch some years earlier, saw only "viele hübsche abwechselnde Scenen von Landsitzen, Fabriken, Dörfern, Feldern, Weisen, Gehölzen" (Kohl, ii, 221). To him the cornfields of
Midlothian and the productive Ayrshire cows were a cheerful sight. Nonetheless he was not without awareness of the distribution of wealth in Scotland. Earlier on his tour he had remarked on the fine oyster-banks on the Forth Islands, "die aber leider nicht den armen Newhaven-ern oder solchen Leutchen gehören, sondern dem Herzog von Buccleugh und solchen Männern" (ibid., i, 93).

The wide range of attitudes amongst the travellers is evident when one looks at the account of Marx, in Scotland the year before Kohl in 1841. Apart from passing reference to a farm or coal-mine, the only occasion when he pays closer attention to one of Scotland's natural resources occurs quite by chance. He had engaged a boy to guide him to the Falls of Bracklinn, and as he stopped to rest and look down at the Teith below him, a small girl came up to him and offered some pearls which she had gathered in the river. Without thinking, he pocketed them as a souvenir and hurried on. Later, at the end of his Scottish tour, his acquaintances in Glasgow told him of the real pearls to be found in the Scottish rivers — "Wie aus einem Traume aufgeweckt griff ich in die Tasche", to find his souvenir, to his delight, both genuine and safe (Marx, 36). He had not wanted to reflect on such mundane matters at the time: "Das Kind war sie eine Fee an mich herangekommen, ich wusste nicht woher, nicht wohin; ich freute mich an der poetischen Erscheinung und an des Kindes Freude über das erhaltene Geschenk" (ibid., 29).

Few of the travellers in the 1850's displayed either knowledge or interest in farming, fishing or agriculture during their Scottish visits. Brandes relates two encounters with cattle in Scotland, but they are as an embellishment to his story and not factual reporting. In his search for the ruins of Cadzow Castle he was directed towards the source of the Avon:

Ich wanderte ... Über Höhen, Felder, einzelne Gehöfte, und kam zu einer Frau, die mir in ihrer Wohnung die ungeheuren Stierhäupter von einer altberühmten wilden Rasse von milchweisser Farbe mit schwarzen Maul, schwarzen Hörnern und schwarzen Hufen zeigte. Ich erschrak fast, so überraschten mich diese sonderbaren gespensterartigen Gestalten. (Brandes, 19)

He was to meet with an unexpected rural scene on his way to view the
Falls of Clyde. He and his guide, a young boy, were walking along beside a field: "so trieb ein Bursche ein halbes Dutzend gelblicher Stiere von jener Weide in wildem Laufe auf unseren Weg und stellte sich schreiend und lärrend vor uns auf" (ibid., 10). His guide tells him that if he were to give the lad a few pence he would drive the beasts back and so free their path. Brandes' reaction is that of the other-worldly Classics school-master: the boy did drive the bullocks back, "obgleich ich mich nicht überwunden konnte, einen so ehrenvollen Dienst zu belohnen oder zu fördern" (ibid.).

Rellstab appeared to notice only one aspect of farming in Scotland, namely the abundance of fencing and walls. On his pilgrimage to Abbotsford he bemoans the fate of the pedestrian, who has no option but to walk

auf der schmalen Chaussee, die auch dicht neben sich keinen Pfad für Fussgänger hat, sondern den Schritt in ihren Kalkstaub zwängt, zwischen unauflhörlichen Steinmauern, Pfahlzäunen, und wenn das Glück recht gross ist, lebendigen, aber im Staub ergrauten Hecken ... O Ihr meine schönen deutschen Landschaften und Berge mit Euren freien Feldern und Wäldern, wie erwacht da die Sehnsucht nach Euch!

(Rellstab, i, 280)

Even the sober subject of manuring becomes romanticised in Rellstab's hands. On visiting Doune Castle, he muses upon the fact that here is a witness to a bygone age, an age of battles and feuds, an age when the Scots hated the English and vice versa. Now this mutual hatred has been completely extinguished:

Die Asche, die aus dem grossen feindseligen Brande herrührt und unter der die Kohlen noch lange fort-glimmten, ist erkältet und zum Düngungsmittel geworden. Doppelte Fruchtbarkeit segnet das Land, segnet die beiden Länder, die sich die Hand gereicht; nicht bloß Fruchtbarkeit der Acker (wie wohl auch diese, da seitdem erst jede wüste Stelle verschwunden ist, und bis hier, dicht an die wilden Hochlande, noch jedes Fleckchen Acker umzäunt wird), sondern auch die höhere Fruchtbarkeit der Industrie, da nach den langen Kämpfen die Luft am staten Frieden so gross geworden ist, dass Alles seine Künste und Aufgaben mit verdoppelter Eifer pflegt und treibt.

(ibid., 320f.)

As a pedestrian, Wichmann was to find the road to Loch Carron to
be like a German country track, but there the similarity ended:

Schon nicht weit von Dingwall fing die Gegend an äusserst öde und wild zu werden; das Getreide, welches man hie und da zu bauen versuchte, war ganz niedrig und so sparlich, dass man fast jeden Halm hätte zählen können; der Baumwuchs begann mehr und mehr eine zwergartige Gestalt anzunehmen. Fand man einmal eine Hütte am Wege oder nicht weit davon und wollte sich nach dem Wege erkundigen, so verstanden einen die Leute nicht mehr. Man war jetzt mitten unter den alten Kelten.

(Wichmann 41f.)

As he walked on he was to find the countryside overwhelmingly barren, desolate, and undeveloped. The only sight which breaks the monotonous is that of heather burning:

Ein solches Abbrennen ... macht sich, aus der Ferne gesehen, bei einbrechender Dunkelheit, wo alles ringsum öde und still ist, sehr schön. Man sieht, wie das Feuer an den Seiten eines Berges umherkriecht, immer weiter und weiter friest, bis es endlich vielleicht den ganzen Bergkegel in eine glühende Masse verwandelt. Die Einwohner' gebrauchen diese Methode als Düngungsmittel.

(ibid., 43)

Otherwise Wichmann makes scarce mention of farming methods, although he praised the quality of the grass fields. Referring to Arthur's Seat as an example, he states that it is the sheep grazing which keeps the grass close cut and even, "der schönste, dichteste Rasen" (ibid., 12).

As Kalckstein travelled by steamer from Hamburg to London in 1852, some of the second-class space was taken up by beef cattle, frequent fellow passengers on steamers of the day. Steamers and stage-coach travel was no pleasure in pouring rain, however, and it was for this reason that Kalckstein visited the Agricultural Museum in Stirling, a pleasure, "der namentlich für Fachmänner äusserst anregend und belehrend sein muss, indessen auch an meiner laienhaften Auffassung nicht ganz spurlos vorüberging ..." (Kalckstein, 225). Having talked of the variety of plant specimens, earth and manure types, agricultural and dairy implements, drainage systems and the latest agricultural inventions, Kalckstein expresses his surprise that such a large and interesting museum collection, now filling the three whole stories of the Drummond building, should have grown out of what to him were such unlikely beginnings.
He concludes:

Es liegt nahe, von welchem unbestrittenen Nutzen
dergleichen Veranstaltungen zur Verbreitung nütz-
licher Kenntnisse in der Sphäre des Landbaus
sind und wie instructiv für den Fremden, der durch
dieselben einen Einblick in das umfassende Gebiet
der ungeheuren Fortschritte der englischen Industrie
gewinnt, im Vergleich mit der Bodencultur anderer
Länder. (ibid., 226)

As with Kohl, Kalckstein's interest in the fishing-village of
Newhaven was social. He too compares its separatist customs and
traditions to fishing-communities on the Baltic and specifically to
the fishing village of Blankenese at the mouth of the River Elbe (ibid.,
217). While he describes how the men go out in the boats and the
women take the catch into market, his real interest lies not with the
fishing but with the fishwives, whom he describes in some detail (ibid.,
217f.).

Five years later Ullrich was to acknowledge the importance of
fishing to Scotland. He notes how those who live on the West coast
of Scotland make their living from the extensive herring trade (Ullrich,
340), and he also takes time to describe herring fishing on Loch Fyne.
Inveraray is not only a picturesque beauty spot, but also an important
fishing centre, most of its inhabitants being fishermen, and their
catch, the Loch Fyne herring, being famed for their excellence. "Der
Fang findet alle Tage, oder vielmehr alle Nächte in ungeheurem Umfange
von Inveraray aus in den südlichen Gegenden des Golfs statt" (ibid., 376).
Two of Ullrich's companions intended to join one of these nightly fishing
expeditions, a plan which Ullrich himself and his other companion, the
Magdeburger Assessor, opposed; they were on a romantic tour of Scotland
and unashamedly preferred a moonlit walk amongst ruins. Their con-
sequent objection reveals much as to the purpose of their visit:

Wir hatten gegen die Idee an sich nicht das mindeste
einzuwenden, wir erklärten sogar mit vollster Aufricht-
igkeit, dass auch der Häringsfang, obenein in der
Nacht, seine Romantik nicht nur haben könne, sondern
auch haben müsse, dass es uns selbst erwünscht wäre,
uns mit einem so neuen Gegenstande vertraut machen zu
dürfen, ja, dass wir, wenn es die Umstände gestatteten,
nicht zögern würden, mit unsern ehrenwerthen Reise-
genossen und Freunden bis an die grönlandische Küste
hinauf auf den Wallfischfang zu gehen.

(ibid.)
Facetious or not, Ullrich is honest; although he admits that he might both have enjoyed and learnt from a fishing-trip, it was not that side of Scotland he had come to see. As he looks over the bay on his evening walk, he prefers to imagine himself in the Middle Ages, when the Lady of the Castle would have awaited with longing the first glimpse on the horizon of her husband's white sail returning from battles and adventure. Yet Ullrich must admit to a pleasant, if less poetic, vision of the present:

They could enjoy it all at a safe distance; it transpired that even the two merchants were not with the fishing fleet, having overslept the hour of departure!

Before Ullrich left Scotland, however, the fishing industry again threatened to interfere with his romantic notions of the country. He was astonished to find that The Royal Institution and The National Gallery in Edinburgh served only in part as art galleries:

Ullrich's a consciously romantic tour and he steered well clear of any sites which might render it otherwise. Thus he refrains from describing the port of Leith on the following grounds:

da er hier ausser zwei alten gothischen Kirchen, denn Leith ist der älteste und war lange auch der einzige Hafen Schottlands, nichts entdecken würde, was er nicht von anderen kleinen Seeplätzen her
Moreover, he is sure that his reader, too, would prefer to turn his back on the bustle of Leith and head back towards the Classical beauty of the Athens of the North. This also gives a clear indication of the readership Ullrich expected.

Ziegler was on the mainland of Scotland in 1851, the same year as Rollstab and Wichmann, but he was also to visit Orkney and Shetland six years later, as Meidinger had done some 30 years before. He was very interested in the signs of rural industry which he saw about him. Before setting sail for the islands from Aberdeen, Ziegler visited the nearby estate of Kingcausie on the Dee, the property of a Mr. Boswell. Boswell was considered one of the "tüchtigsten und angesehensten Landwirthe Nord-Schottlands" and Ziegler was duly impressed, not just with the estate, but also with this gentleman's hospitality. Of the 2,500 acres; 1,500 were cultivated, and there were several hundred miles of underground drains. The cattle were mostly shorthorn, with 14 bulls, 14 work horses and 40 Shetland ponies, "welche letztere sehr klein und meist von bunter Farbe sind und die im Paar öfter zu 20-30 Guineen an Liebhaber verkauft werden" (Ziegler, Bilder, 169). Ziegler also describes the five-year crop rotation, of oats, turnips and corn, barley and grass, hay, and grazing pasture; he adds that only the turnip crop was fully manured. One of the illustrations included in this article is of Kingcausie, with a number of shorthorn cattle and two gentlemen with canes in the foreground. Next day Ziegler set sail from Aberdeen at 6 in the evening, anchoring next morning at 8 in Wick, "[die] wegen seiner Heringsfischerei berühmte und wegen seiner Unreinlichkeit berühmte Stadt" (ibid.).

While Ziegler acknowledges the richness of Orcadian history, he saw poverty in the present, but with it a pious code of morality. The islanders made their living from fishing, farming, hunting and kelp-burning, hunting seals for their oil, and rabbits, ducks and pigeons for the cook-pot. Because of the abundance of fowl, wild and domestic, many eggs were exported and the main catch of the fishermen consisted
of herring and, above all, lobster. Ziegler names four of the landowners and farmers who had contributed to the recent agricultural progress on the islands, Mr. Fortescue on Swambuster, Mr. Balsie of St. Andrews, Mr. Traill of Holland on Papa Westray and Mr. Balfour on Shapinsay, the last-named being Ziegler’s own host. He goes on to describe the process of kelp-burning, and he reports that the price per ton had sunk from £15 or £16 to £6, due to recent development of alternative materials.

As rain had caused Kalckstein to visit the Agricultural Museum, so it caused Ziegler to postpone a boat-trip to Bressay in Shetland in favour of a visit to the boats anchored in Lerwick harbour. Hearing that three of these – the “Charlotte”, “Fanny” and “Emma” – were Hanoverian, he announced himself at once and was cordially received by the captains. The three vessels, small but clean, had been making the annual crossing from Emden to the Shetlands for ten years; with the Dutch they had permission to fish the waters three English miles out from the coast, where they found a good herring catch. Ziegler reports that the herring fishing began usually mid-June and lasted from 6 to 7 weeks, and sometimes into August:

Die deutschen Capitaine meinten, dass 20 Last (=280 Tonnen) Häringe ein guter, 15 Last ein mittelmässiger und 10 Last ein schlechter Fang sei. Die Tonne enthält an 900 bis 1000 Stück Häringe.

(9bid., 277)

Later, as he sailed through the Bressay Sound, Ziegler noted that it was used as shelter for many ships, but in particular for the whalers on their way north. The island of Bressay itself Ziegler found barren, with little cultivable land and meagre crops of potatoes and oats, but also turnips and “beer” [sic], a kind of barley.

Ziegler could well imagine how the Duke of Medina Sidonia of the Spanish Armada had been shipwrecked off the unwelcoming coast of Fair Isle in 1588; although he and his men nearly starved, legend has it that the Duke did the islanders a great service in teaching the womenfolk the art of knitting. Ziegler was impressed with the women’s knitted goods; the men, he reports, earned their living from fishing. Later he was to walk across the island of Bressay to Noss, on which small island he found herds of near-wild Shetland ponies grazing; he
describes the ponies, their height, coat and colour, remarking that they were not considered fully grown till they were 8 or 9 years old. He cites an average price for a pony as between £1 and £6, while pie- and skewbald fetch a higher price. Ziegler was welcomed at the farm- house on Noss and provided with a "wettergepeitschten Seemann" as a guide to show him the cradle bridge at the Holm of Noss, "die grösste Shetländ- ische Merkwürdigkeit" (ibid., 361). He describes the bridge in detail, noting how a man lost his life in building it, and how the sheep were transported across one by one, in the cradle with a man, to graze on the rock during the summer months. An engraving of the bridge is printed with this article (ibid., 360).

In his subsequent publication, Meine Reise im Norden (1860), Ziegler further describes farming and fishing on the islands. He was amazed how productive the Orkney land was, with good water and drains and no trees; but he found the Orkneys underinhabited, with only 800 people on Shapinsay, where he was the guest of Mr. Balfour. The latter told Ziegler that, in an attempt to repopulate the island, he would give German immigrants land for free for the first years and only gradually demand rent. Ziegler was impressed with the condition of Balfour's cattle, which were sent to market in Hull and London. He walked round the island of Sanday with a young farmer from Edinburgh, George Kinnear, and found good crops of barley and oats, and pigs and sheep being reared. He comments on the multitude of rabbits, 12 of which could eat as much as one sheep, and 3,000 of which were killed annually on one farm. Kelp-burning was now diminishing and being replaced by herring fishing. Ziegler saw the latter as a new industry not yet properly understood, in some parts having begun in the year 1814 and in others as late as 1833. Orkney's harbours are also used by the Navy and by the Greenland fishing fleets. New farming methods had reached Orkney, brought by landowners and farmers from mainland Scotland; Ziegler met several of these men, Balfour amongst them, and he writes of the improvements they brought with them, namely drains, fencing and shorthorn and Aberdeen cattle, (ibid., 261-83).

Ziegler found the Shetlanders, on the other hand, true fisherfolk, with fish providing the main diet and trade, and the women skilled both at farm work and in spinning, weaving, knitting and sewing. But Shet- land did not provide in Ziegler's view a similar attraction to potential settlers; the lack of trees was not complemented by good crops, although the shops were full of vegetables, and the weather was bad. The Shetland ponies mostly ran loose and if a traveller wanted one, he had to catch it and let it free when he no longer needed it; Ziegler himself
rode one, there being no vehicles on the islands. (ibid., 292-303). The system of land distribution interested him, since it was divided not according to size but value, operating with the old "Scat" taxes, and a hierarchy of tenants, tacksmen and landowners, (ibid., 306-13). Ziegler met a one-legged old sailor, who offered to show him a great rarity, an ash tree, planted several hundred years before and protected by a wall. The old man, whom Ziegler calls "ein zweiter Tacitus" (ibid., 318), is perturbed that Ziegler was not impressed, and when the latter tells him of the trees and woods in his native land, he cannot imagine Germany a pleasant country, with dark woods and marshes. Even though there were now no indigenous trees, the presence of peat does prove that they once grew on the islands, and Ziegler also admits that what he considers "diese traurige Baumlosigkeit" (ibid., 319) is the viewpoint of a German, not a Shetlander.

The developments in Scotland's rural industries, especially fishing and agriculture, had greatly advanced since the tour of Nemnich in the first decade of the Century. Since it is Kohl who was most acutely aware of the implications of these advancements, it is fitting to finish with further comments from him. As evidence of the huge variation of soil fertility and yield throughout the country, he cites rental figures for the year 1810; while rent for an acre of land in Edinburghshire (Midlothian) had been £1/4/6d., and in Argyll £1/0/1d., in Orkney it had been just 8d., while in Shetland a mere 3d. (Kohl, ii, 101). Ziegler's account was to show how this situation had changed in the Northern Isles, especially Orkney, but Kohl, too, was to learn of these improvements on his visit to the Highland and Agricultural Society in Edinburgh at the end of his tour. He gives a detailed report of the Society, its aims, organisation and its museum collection, from butter churns to chimney-sweeping machines (ibid., ii, 206ff.). He is convinced that his readers ought to learn not only of the Society's existence but also of its admirable purpose: "Ich glaube, dass die schottische Gesellschaft in dieser Hinsicht von keiner anderen in der Welt übertroffen wird" (ibid., 208). He goes on to give a digest of the pamphlet detailing the many prizes offered that year, from the 500 Guinea prize for a steam-powered plough or harrow, to a five sovereign award for the best sheaf of early field peas. Kohl's admiration knows no bounds. He wishes to convey to his readers the extent of agricultural
improvements in Scotland and in conclusion gives the historical perspective:

Man ... bedenke, dass lange lange Jahrhunderte hindurch - man kann sagen bis zum Jahr 1746 - von Ausbietung keiner anderen Prämie in Schottland gehört wurde, als von Prämien auf Einbringung gewisser Gefangener, lebendiger oder toter, auf Einbringung dieses oder jenes menschlichen Kopfes, derser oder jener rechten Hand und dergleichen - und nun blicke man in die Zukunft und auf die wohltätigen Einflüsse, welche die jetzt in Schottland üblichen Prämienausbietungen haben müssen, und man wird sicherlich nicht umhin können, sich eines solchen Hinblickes auf die hier emporblühenden kommenden Geschlechter zu freuen und die Tätigkeit einer Gesellschaft zu segnen, welche auf eine so wirksame Weise an der Verbesserung der Fundamente der menschlichen Gesellschaft, der Künste des Ackerbaues und der ackerbauenden Classen arbeitet. (ibid., 211f.)

It should be remembered that Kohl’s optimistic attitude was formed in the autumn of 1842, after an excellent growing season and summer of hot, dry weather. Had he visited after the ensuing years of famine, his opinions might well have been very different. The fact remains that he was one of the few to recognise fully the importance of rural industry to 19th Century Scotland.

It is debatable whether those who showed little or no recognition of Scotland’s industries were ignorant of them or fully aware of them but of the opinion that any reference to such matters was irrelevant to their purpose. The latter would seem to be most probable. A Highlander tilling the soil in his kilt might make a romantic picture, but only a traveller with Kohl’s genuine interest, enthusiasm and insight could appreciate the laird’s newly developed drainage system.
CHAPTER VIII

PAINTING - SCULPTURE - ARCHITECTURE

a) Painting

Keinen einzigen wirklich grossen historischen Maler hat England hervorgebracht und wird ihn schwerlich hervorbringen, und eben so geht es mit Bildhauerei und Musik.

(Carus, i, 65)

This opinion, shared by many of the 19th Century German travellers in Britain, reveals as much about the differences in Continental and British taste as it does about the state of the Arts in Britain. Although much of the criticism regarding (non-traditional) music was doubtless well-founded, the Germans tended to show a lack of appreciation of the British achievements in painting and sculpture, except where sculpture was perceived as a branch of architecture. By and large the fashion on the Continent was for historical, religious and Classical genre paintings, while the British skills lay in the field of nature studies, landscape and, above all, portraiture.

Gradually, however, since Lichtenberg had helped to popularise Hogarth in Germany, and as Landseer's etchings became generally known, the German view became less confined. By the time of the Manchester Art Exhibition of 1857, on which Waagen, Ullrich and Fontane reported, the German critics showed themselves to be less prejudiced. In the early years of the century Goede had denounced British art for its restrictiveness: portraits could not stand comparison with Classical or religious masterpieces. In his view both the narrow-mindedness of potential patrons and the lack of true skill amongst the artists themselves had brought about this preponderance of insignificant portraiture (Goede, iii, 103f.). Over fifty years later Ullrich was to show considerably more insight. He does not seek to compare, perforce unfavourably, British artists with the Dutch or Italian masters, nor does he look for British strength in either historical or religious painting. Instead he finds a great variety of artistic expression, especially in landscape and human and animal portraiture: "Von grossen Schulen oder Richtungen ist nicht eigentlich die Rede, indem fast jeder Maler nach seiner besonderen Methode verfährt" (Ullrich, 306). He
does share one of Goeds's opinions, however, namely that external
dpolitical circumstances had discouraged the development of historical
and religious genre painting. Ullrich sees a practical cause for the
unfamiliarity of the Europeans with even the names of British artists:

Im Ausland sind die englischen Meister bisher
wenig bekannt geworden, da die Werke derselben
fast alle in der Heimath blieben. Man ist
allerdings auf litterarischem Wege mit den
bedeutendsten Namen vertraut, aber dem eigenen
Urtheile standen immer nur Kupferstich-Kopien
einzeln auszeichneten oder beliebten
Gemälde zu Gebote. Wer jedoch Manchester
besucht, der kann die Lücke seines Wissens
als bald in bequemer Weise auffüllen.

(ibid.)

It was Waagen who was to do most to familiarise the Germans with the art
collections of Britain, although these of course included many of the
great European masters as well as British works. In the 1830's Pulszky
had indicated the need for such a work; the aim of his own account did
not allow for a detailed study, but nonetheless he provides a list of
some of the foremost works of art which he saw in the wealthy houses of
Britain. This he saw as a temporary measure, "bis Männer von euro-
 päischem Rufe, wie Waagen in Berlin, oder Graf Clarac in Paris, ¹ die
England der Kunst wegen durchreisten, ein vollständiges Bild davon
gaben und jedem Monumente die Stelle anweisen, an die es gehört"
(Pulszky, 204). Pulszky himself was primarily interested in archaeol-
gy and this gave him the ability to view other works of art from an
historical and national perspective rather than from the narrow confines
of contemporary taste.²

With this background in mind, it is hardly surprising that the
German travellers in Scotland paid little attention to works of art
other than those of the great European masters which they found hanging
in the homes of the wealthy collectors. And yet Scottish art in the
first half of the century was by no means provincial. Two of the
leading British portrait painters of the day were Scotsmen, Sir Henry
Raeburn and Sir John Watson Gordon, and both men worked from Edinburgh
for most of their lives. Although early success took both Sir David
Wilkie and John Phillips to London, each was to retain much native
Scottish subject matter in his work.³ In reporting on the genre paint-
ing in the Manchester Exhibition, Ullrich writes of the fame of Wilkie,
"dessen auch auf dem Kontinent durch den Stich viel bekannte Werke eine fesselnde Unterhaltung im eigentlichen und wahrsten Sinne gewähren" (Ullrich, 312). Evidently the Scottish subject matter of Wilkie's work was not generally recognised as such, while the Scottish theme of so much of the London-born Landseer's widely circulated work was common knowledge in Germany. In discussing British portraiture, Ullrich cites three names as the masters in this field, Lawrence, and the two Scots, Phillips and [Watson] Gordon (ibid., 313). During his lifetime, however, it had been Raeburn who had carried most prestige in Edinburgh. Johanna Schopenhauer visited him at the height of his career in 1803. Writing at the same time as Goede, her remarks are typically disparaging, even though she acknowledges the painter's skill and consequent success:

Schopenhauer was especially taken with Raeburn's life-size portrait of his eight-year-old son astride a pony: "Das Bild ist unbeschreiblich lieblich und wahr, Licht und Schatten so verständig vertheilt, man kann nicht davon wegkommen" (ibid., 284). She found Raeburn himself an unusually educated and pleasant man, in whose company she spent several enjoyable hours.

Despite the use of the word "allerliebst" to describe the pony in the above portrait, Schopenhauer had earlier voiced her true opinion
of the British predilection for animal portraiture, when she had visited the Duke of Bedford's seat at Woburn Abbey. The reverence in which the British held favourite animals was out of all proportion. Yet Schopenhauer did appreciate Raeburn's skill in animal painting and this awareness is perhaps indicative of the enormous popularity which Raeburn's best known successor in this field, Sir Edwin Landseer, was to enjoy in Germany in years to come. By 1857 Ullrich could write: "Den grossen englischen Meister im Thierstück Edwin Landseer kennt alle Welt"(Ullrich, 313). Although not a native Scot, Landseer's contribution to the 'discovery' of Scotland was significant. From 1824, when he first travelled to Scotland, the Highlands provided most of his subject-matter, and etchings of his most popular works soon became widely known on the Continent. Indication of this is given by Kohl. After visiting a hut above Loch Tay, Kohl sits on the bank outside, while the inhabitant, an old Highlander, shares a pipe with his guide. Two collies lie stretched out on the grass and some blackface sheep and a small white Highland pony graze nearby. Kohl looks across at Ben Lawers and at the herds of cattle and sheep on the slopes. He continues:

Failing this, Kohl gives a fifteen-page commentary on "The Highland Drovers", with the help of the translation of an anonymous English writer which gives both a description of the painting itself and some history and background to the subject matter. He himself feels the picture to be so very characteristic of Scotland that he adds:


(ibid., 55f.)

Kohl touches on two important points here. Firstly, through the use of the word "charakteristisch", so prominent in 18th Century thought and criticism, he indicates something of the German expectations of paintings with Scottish subject matter. Thus "The Highland Drovers" conveyed to him that peculiar Scottish character of which he already had preconceived notions. Secondly, he underlined the practical problem of access to private collections.

Sixteen years later Fontane was to open his chapter on Edinburgh Castle with the rhetorical question: "Wer kennte nicht das Edwin Landseer'sche Bild 'Der Frieden'?" (Fontane, 50). In his way he also uses the painting's subject-matter to touch on his notion of Scotland's character. His method, however, is different from Kohl's. He fastens on to one object, the rusty cannon in the grass, to lead him naturally to his real concern, history, in this case the history which surrounds the cannons of Edinburgh Castle.

Meidinger, in Edinburgh shortly after the art exhibition of March 1819, which had brought together many of the works in private possession, felt able to report that the fine arts were beginning to develop in Scotland (Meidinger, Briefe, 149). It was some years, however, before the art historian, Förster, could report favourably on some of the items
in the collection of the National Gallery in Edinburgh. Until then travellers gained ready access to relatively few collections, notably those of the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, that of the Duke of Hamilton and the portrait gallery of Scottish kings in Holyrood. Most paintings described, including the latter collection (which Schinkel was to dismiss as being "von entsetzlicher Arbeit" (Schinkel, iii, 94), were not by native Scottish artists. Apparently one of the most famous paintings in Scotland at the time was Rubens' "Daniel in the Lions Den" which hung in Hamilton Palace, but visitors were not always admitted even to see this. Only Carus and Waagen, as honoured guests in the great houses of the land, faced no problems on this score. While staying with Lord and Lady Delawarr at Buckhurst, the King of Saxony's party visited Redleave House, the home of a personal friend of Landseer, Mr. Wells, who had in his possession several of the painter's works. Carus describes in particular a large portrait of Walter Scott (Carus, i, 82f.). He also writes of two of Wilkie's Scottish paintings, but he evidently did not view Wilkie as a Scottish painter, even if one should read "British" for "English" in the following passage:

Endlich fand ich unter vielen andern modernen Bildern auch einige von Wilkie. Das grösste darunter war sein Distraint for rent. Eine Pachtersfamilie in aller Noth und Sorge um den Pachtzins. - Die Ausführung sehr sorgfältig, die Technik der Malerei etwas flach und kalt im Ton, der ganze Gedankengang in dem Bilde auch nicht so tief greifend und so gegenständlich geworben wie im "Rentday". - Wilkie war wohl nächst Landseer der originellste Maler der Engländer; er fasste wirklich tief und fest das bewegliche Leben auf! - sonderbar dass er in späterer Zeit - gleichsam überdrüssig der Prosa englischen Familienlebens, sich kopfüber in forcirte* französische Romantik warf. (ibid., 83f.)

It was hardly surprising that Carus, as a member of the German Romantic school of painting, could not look beyond the confines of that movement, while the art historians and critics, Waagen, Förster and Ullrich, gave Scottish artists more open recognition. Naturally, Waagen gained greatest insight into the state of Scottish art through numerous introductions to leading figures of the art world, including the then president of the Scottish Academy, Watson Gordon, "a gentleman of frank and pleasing manners" (Waagen, ii, 262), the Academy's secretary, Mr. D. O. Hill, "a skilful and well-known landscape-painter;
Mr. Macculloch, the highly-esteemed landscape-painter, an enthusiastic lover of art (ibid., 279). In his commentary, as well as paying tribute to some of Wilkie’s works, Waagen also singles out landscapes by John Thomson and two of the works by which Thomas Duncan achieved fame, the Jacobite scenes, “Prince Charles’ Entry into Edinburgh after Prestonpans” and “Prince Charles Edward concealed in a Cave” (ibid., 271 & 282). He found the former [Thomson’s “Bruce’s Castle of Turnberry”] spirited but lacking in sound technical basis, while he is full of praise for Duncan, whose early death he considers a great loss to art. The subject-matter of Duncan’s paintings doubtless had an effect on this opinion; Waagen was moved by the beauty of the “noble Scotch lady” watching the sleeping Prince in the second painting, and writes of the first, “a very animated and spirited conception is here combined with a harmonious and powerful colouring and careful execution”. Thomson’s landscapes came to life for Waagen when he drove on the newly completed Queen’s Drive through Holyrood Park. Knowledge of Thomson’s life and work served to enhance the already familiar literary associations of the imposing Edinburgh landscape:

Marvellous are the contrasts here presented to the mind. In the distance the immeasurable ocean, suggesting the mysterious longing for that which lies beyond it; low in the foreground Duddingston Loch, with its quiet village – the scene of Thomson’s clerical as well as artistic labours – bringing thoughts of a peaceful asylum from the world, till Schiller’s verses occurred to my memory – “Aus des Lebens Mühen und ewiger Qual Möcht’ ich fliehen in dieses glückselige Thal.”

Then the wide outstretched city, with its opposite associations – the old town offering the striking picture of a rude and multiform past – the new town and all surrounding it that of a fresh and living present. As we drove along my kind companion [Christie] drew my attention to every point in any way connected with Walter Scott’s ‘Heart of Midlothian’.

Such a passage, in which the work of a Scottish painter is not seen in isolation, but in its Scottish context, is rare amongst the German accounts. In his supplementary volume, Galleries and Cabinets of Art, Waagen discusses further paintings by Wilkie, Raeburn, Watson Gordon and Thomson of Duddingston, but also mentions works by previously unnamed...
Scottish painters, namely David Allan, "the Scotch Hogarth", Alexander and Patrick Nasmyth and David Roberts. Although the bulk of his Scottish reports concerned European masters, Waagen did also bring some Scottish names to the attention of his European readers. Certain paintings, such as those by Duncan, (which Waagen saw in the house of Hill's brother), were not available for public view. Even if guide books such as Black's (which Waagen himself used) gave lists of paintings, such information was of little interest to visitors who could not view the works in person.

By this time, in the 1850's, the National Gallery collection was expanding, but, as Förster was to discover, it still paled into insignificance before its London counterpart. Even as an art historian, Förster devotes barely two pages of his account to the Gallery in Edinburgh and names only one Scottish painter, Paton, concluding:

Soll ich aufrichtig sein, so glaube ich, dass die Schotten in demselben Maas, als ihnen die Natur günstig war für die Erzeugung und Entwicklung dichterischer Talente, von ihr in Betreff malerischer stiefmütterlich behandelt worden sind. Es ist auch nicht Mangel an Phantasie, was der Ausbildung der Malerei im Wege steht – im Gegenteil, ein Künstler, wie Paton in seinem "Sommernachtstraum", ist wie ein Schneegestöber von Einfällen, aber eben diese Regel-, Form- und Masslosigkeit mag es sein, die ihnen den Weg zur Vollendung vertritt. (Förster, 310)

This point of view is reminiscent of the opinions held earlier in the century by Goede and Schopenhauer. Förster was, however, excited to see some of the early work of the English painter William Etty, whose great popularity in Britain he had never before understood. Nonetheless he puts down a lot of Etty's success to fashion rather than inspiration or talent; this, too, would indicate that Förster, however knowledgeable, was unwilling to desert his national prejudices.

Lewald's visit the previous year coincided with the death of the painter, Sir William Allan. The day before her departure from Edinburgh she was taken by "Lady D." and her family to the home of the recently deceased Allan, in order to view his work. The paintings ("grosse Schlachtgemälde mit vielen Figuren" (Lewald, 330)) appear to have
been of minimal interest to Lewald. One might however point out that Allan was one of the few historical painters of whom the Germans found such a dearth in Britain. Historical portraits came under a different category, and any portrayals of popular historical figures - and one thinks in particular of Fontane's preoccupation with pictures of Mary Queen of Scots - invariably receive mention from the travellers. Such interest was historical rather than artistic.

During his visit to Edinburgh some years before Lewald, Kohl had been particularly impressed by the evidence of the high standard of the useful arts. He did not pretend to be a devotee of the fine arts and although he was happy to report on those paintings of the old masters which he saw in Holyrood and the University Library (Kohl, i, 85f. & 82f.), he showed little interest in contemporary Scottish works:

... Aledann führten sie mich zu einem "Ornamental Painter," dessen Sammlung, wie sie mir sagten, "is allowed to be a select collection." Ich glaube, die Gemälde waren alle von neuen schottischen Malern. Allein ich muss gestehen, das kleine "knitting girl" (strickende Mädchen), das ich hier sah, lies mich vollkommen ohne alle Theilnahme; das gemalte Obst, das mir präsentirt wurde, reizte mich zu nichts weniger als zum Einbeissen; bei den Landschaften, die sich meinen Augen eröffneten, fühlte ich keinesweges den Wunsch in mir aufsteigen, darin zu wohnen; ich glaubte nichts weniger, als die Küss des liebenden Paares, welches sich umarmte, schmatzen zu hören. ... Ja ich war sogar hart genug, dem alten greisen Harfner das kleine Almosen meines Beifalls zu versagen. (Kohl, ii, 215f.)

Kohl's tastes remained firmly with the Hobbema and Ruisdael he had seen earlier in the University collection. He was, however, attracted by the "Ornamental Painter's" collection of painted woods, which he found very original. Ironically, in the light of his comments above on the "Knitting Girl", he was also struck by the realistic motifs:

Kohl is alone in mentioning the Edinburgh art shops and the copper, wood and stone engravings which they sold. He was astonished at the abundance of Puritanical Reformation prints, frequently depicting Calvin's death, and was interested, too, to see pictures and prints depicting scenes from Scottish life. These were, however, of more social than artistic interest to him.

One must conclude that the German visitors were not interested in works by native Scottish artists, but in paintings which depicted Scottish, preferably romantic, scenes. It may be that these were the works of Scottish painters such as Wilkie or Duncan, but this was almost coincidental. Thus Carus could write enthusiastically of a Landseer painting he saw in London:

[Von den Thierbildern] ist mir eine insbesondere deutlich in den Gedanken geblieben (was immer ein gutes Zeichen ist) das Bild einer mondhellen Winternacht in den Hochlanden. Ein grosser Hirsch schreitet im Vorgebilde über einen umgestürzten beschneiten Baum. Der Mond steht außerhalb des Bildes und wirft einen scharfen Schlagschatten des Hirsches auf den hellen Schnee. In der Ferne kommen andere durch den See herübergeschwommen, und drüben über den weissen Bergen leuchten die Sterne. Man fühlt die Kälte der klaren stillen Nacht und erfreut sich des edlen Thieres in seinem frischen wilden Reich. (Carus, i, 266)

On the same occasion Carus was to reveal how firmly he himself was devoted to Romanticism. He struggles to come to terms with Turner's experimental use of colour in a seascape:

Wenn man ein recht buntes Seebild etwa auf eine Wachstafel gemalt schmelzen liesse und nun die Farben untereinander rührte, so müsste es etwa so aussehen! - Ich gäbe etwas darum zu wissen, wie dieser Maler die Natur sieht, und was in seinen Augen ist, das ihn die Natur so sehen macht! - Dann, was das andere betrifft, so gehören dahin so manche der nach Walter Scott und Ähnlichen gemalten rührenden Geschichten, wo der Beschauer erst alles im Catalogs nachlesen muss, was er auf dem Bilde nicht sieht! - Doch genug von diesem Elende! - Unter den Wasserfarben-Zeichnungen waren manche äusserst geschickt gemachte...
Many of Turner’s watercolours were as experimental as his oils, however, and Ullrich, who paid tribute to Turner as "eine besonders geniale Natur und von einer Staunen erregenden Fruchtbarkeit" (Ullrich, 313), also wrote of his "Farbenexperimenten, die nichts mehr mit der gesunden Vernunft zu thun haben" (ibid.). The fact remains that Turner made a considerable contribution to the 'discovery' of the Scottish landscape, from the early sketches and watercolours dating from his first Scottish tour of 1801, to the more progressive interpretations of the Highlands, such as his painting of Loch Coruisk, the results of his 1831 visit. Whether they knew it or not, many of the German visitors must have been familiar with at least some of Turner’s Scottish paintings, for they would have seen them in editions of Scott’s Provincial Antiquities (1819-26) and Poetical Works (1833-4). It remains surprising that he receives so little attention. In discussing the British landscape painting in the Manchester Art Exhibition, Ullrich gives a possible reason for this. While he recognises the British mastery of the genre, and Turner’s successes in the field, he adds, almost disparagingly, that landscape painting is a "Kunstgattung, welche als die eigentliche Touristen- wie Dilettantenkunst, von den Engländern zu einer Meisterschaft entwickelt worden, mit der sich keine andere Nation messen kann" (Ullrich, 313). It is as if he still cannot rid himself of the notion that it is "die eigentliche Touristen- wie Dilettantenkunst". Many of the travellers themselves practised the art while in Scotland, notably Schopenhauer, Schinkel, Mendelssohn, Carus, Förster, Kalckstein and Lepel, and as such they may well have viewed much of the Scottish landscape painting as one today would regard skilful amateur photography.
b) *Sculpture and Architecture*

i. *Monuments and Memorials*

Überhaupt ist die Lust an grosser monumentaler Kunst hier unter diesen Schotten erfreulich hervortretend. Das schöne Material des im Überfluss in der Nähe brechenden gelblichen Sandsteines (vor Kurzem wurde in einem solchen Steinbruche ein grosser versteinelter Baumstamm entdeckt) erleichtert die Ausführung solcher Werke, und an tüchtigen Architekten kann es nicht fehlen.

(Carus, ii, 299)

The period under study was without doubt vital in the history of Scotland's sculpture and architecture. New towns were springing up, the existing towns were growing and both money and material were available to be expended on lavish and ornate style. All who were in Scotland throughout the first half of the century witnessed great building activity. The Classical style favoured by the Scottish architects was without fail popular with the Germans, for it was in accordance with their own taste, and tribute is duly paid to Adam, Stark and Playfair.

The Germans were likewise impressed by the many buildings designed in the "Anglo-Gothic" style and the stately homes with their marked French influence. Their opinions thus reflected the styles favoured throughout Europe at the time. Any peculiarly Scottish architectural style was, however, barely recognised; the truly Scottish buildings and monuments were considered too dark, rude and uncivilised to be worthy of note unless they had added historical attraction or lay in romantic ruins.

The importance of sculpture in Scotland was all too evident from the large number of monuments being erected during these years. On the whole the Germans thoroughly approved of this practice. They seldom commented on monuments as works of art, however, but wrote instead of the lives they commemorated or simply of the fact that the British considered it their duty to commemorate their national heroes. Fanny Lewald, for instance, gives high praise to this facet of the national character and sees it sadly lacking in her native Germany. In Glasgow, having already commented on the monuments to Scott, Moore and Watt, she is confronted by the equestrian statue of Wellington in front of the Exchange and cannot withhold an emotional response on reflection of the
state of affairs in her own country:

Auch hier wieder erfreut mich die Verehrung und Dankbarkeit der Engländer für die Männer, welche sich um das Vaterland verdient gemacht haben. Freilich haben die Engländer auch das, was uns zur Entwicklung einer Menge von Eigenschaften fehlt — ein Vaterland. Denn wem könnte in Deutschland das ganze Volk als Nation ein Denkmal setzen, ausser seinen grossen Dichtern? Und auch dabei findet sich der Uebelstand, dass, wenn ein solches Denkmal in der Vaterstadt des Dichters aufgestellt wird, es sich für neunundzwanzig Dreissigstel der Deutschen im Auslande befindet, welches zu besuchen sie sich einen Pass besorgen und eine Aufenthalts- karte lösen müssen. Mit den Fürsten, Staatsmännern und Kriegshelden ist es noch schlimmer. Wer Oestrich dient, ist Preussens Feind; wer Bayern nützt und es hebt, beeinträchtigt Württemberg und Sachsen. ... In der Vereinigung zu einer Nation, zu allgemeiner Freiheit haben die Stämme und Parteien Englands ihre früheren Kampfe, ihren früheren Hass vergessen, während in Deutschland die fortduernde Zersplitterung in einzelne Länder, und das allgemeine Missbehagen alle Antipathien nur zu wach erhält. Unser ganzes nationales Leben, unsere sämtlichen Verhältnisse sind durch Missgunst, Abneigung und Particularismus so untergraben, dass eine Veredlung des Volkscharakters für uns in alle Zeit unerreichbar bleiben wird, wenn die jetzigen Zustände fortduernd sollen. (Lewald, ii, 488f.)

Lewald's regret over the lack of public spirit in Germany, sharply contrasted with society's attitudes in Britain, is reminiscent of opinions expressed in the closing years of the previous century by Georg Forster. She was deeply disillusioned by the outcome of the events of 1848 and had no qualms about finding fault with the German character. She continues:

Rechnet man dazu noch, dass der Deutsche gar nicht geneigt ist zum Anerkennen, wohl aber zum Kritisiren und Tadeln, so begreift es sich, wie kein allgemeiner Enthusiasmus für irgend eine Persönlichkeit, oder gar für ein Unternehmen zu Ehren eines grossen Mannes unter uns aufkommt. Als sich im Jahre 1840 ein frischer Geist in Deutschland regte, als einzelne Gemeinschaften daran dachten, Statuen für die Heroen unserer Literatur zu errichten, erschraken die "besonnenen, nüchternen" Leute gleich über den "Statuen-Schwindel", und in den Zeitschriften hiess es satirisch, wenn man so viel Raum für Monuments verschwende, so werde der Kartoffelacker thauer werden.
für die Armuth. Die Deutschen, das Volk des Gedankens, schlagen ihren Verstand so niedrig an, dass sie fürchten, auch der kleinste Enthusiasmus könnte ihnen mit ihrem Verstande davonlaufen. Sie binden sich mit den Stricken der Engherzigkeit an den Mast der Gewöhnlichkeit, wenn das Schiff der Zeit sich den Küsten der Freiheit nähert, und grosse, fortzeugende Gedanken und Thaten ihnen winken. Vorüber! Vorüber! –

(ibid., 489f.)

Few of Lewald's compatriots would have launched so self-deprecatory an attack on their own people, yet many without doubt harboured a certain wistful longing for that sense of national pride which they witnessed all over Britain. One of Scotland's chief attractions to them was after all her national heritage, of which the Scots themselves were so proud.

An opposing point of view was also represented. A few years after Lewald Kalckstein was to voice an equally outspoken disapproval of the many monuments in Britain, "dieser den geistigen Grössen der Nation bis zur Profusion gewidmete Cultus" (Kalckstein, 17). Although writing of the unnecessary profusion of artistically insignificant monuments to be seen all over London, Kalckstein presumably retained this opinion for the duration of his British tour. He suspects the motives behind the monuments are no longer genuine but from force of habit. It is merely another instance of the British lack of artistic sense. Having cited the work of the German, Rauch, as the example of what sculpture ought to be like, he writes:

Es ist überhaupt eine ausgemachte Thatsache dass den Briten, dieser im Gebiet des praktischen Lebens unerreicht dastehenden Nation, der critische Standpunkt fehlt, die rein idealen Gestaltungen des schöpferischen Menschengeistes, in der stillen hehren Abgeschlossenheit ihres auf sich Beruhens, bewusstvoll in sich aufzunehmen.

(ibid., 18)

Kalckstein here fails to appreciate that the commemorative aspect of a monument was to many people, Lewald included, of equal if not more importance than its artistic merit. Kalckstein himself was quick to acknowledge British achievements in other fields. It is for no artistic merit that the monument to Cobbett at Dumbarton is frequently mentioned or that Kohl describes the monument to Henry Bell on the Clyde. It is
typical of Kohl that he should recognise the huge contribution made by the Scottish engineer, who introduced practical steam navigation to Europe.19 In Fort William Ullrich found little other than a monument in the main street to attract the attention of visitors. It is neither a great work of art, nor does it commemorate the life of a famous man, but Ullrich gives the impression that it is nonetheless of interest and importance, since it had recently been erected in memory of a highly respected local doctor, William Kennedy, who had died in 1851 at the age of 41. As a piece of sculpture, the Gaelic inscription appears to be its most remarkable feature (Ullrich, 339f.).

Like Kohl, Hallberg had paid tribute to the work of Bell on seeing his recently erected memorial, but ignored it as a work of art (Hallberg-Broich, 67). Likewise, writing of the monument to Watt, he acknowledges the importance of the engineer's inventions to the modern travelling world. In his accustomed contrary fashion, however, he goes on to criticise such monuments:

Alle diese grossen Werke sind von Privaten ausgeführt worden, welche sich im Krieg so bereichert hatten, dass sie nicht mehr wussten, wie sie ihre ungeheure Schätze anwenden sollten.

(ibid., 65)

This leads him conveniently into a two-page attack on the Government's financial policies, the National Debt, and the unfair distribution of wealth. Hallberg enjoyed deriding all he could, but he did not confine his criticisms to Britain, writing, "die Monumente gehören zur Narrheit des Zeitalters in England, wie bei uns" (ibid., 89). Yet he was not above writing about those the Scots had commemorated in their monuments. In Glasgow, having attacked the dirt and pollution of the city, he goes on to comment on the monuments to Scott, Moore and Nelson. He reproduces the inscription on Nelson's obelisk and pronounces it "Ein stolzes Monument - wie seine Thaten" (ibid., 64), while he equates the statue of Scott on its Trojan column with that of St. Peter in Rome (ibid., 63). In commenting on the monument to Moore, he is more intent on writing of the recently deceased Lady Hester Stanhope's love for the Scottish general (as told him by the French Consul in Cyprus) than he is on the achievements of Moore himself. As regards the Glasgow monuments as commemorative works of art, he concludes:

(ibid., 64)

It is to be expected that the one monument on which almost all the later German visitors comment was erected to the Scotsman whom they arguably admired above all others, Walter Scott. On the whole they regarded the Scott Monument in Edinburgh in terms of Scott rather than art, although the touching story of George M. Kemp, the young unknown artist who had won the competition for the design of the monument but had died before its completion, is also related by some, notably Lewald, Förster and Ullrich. In 1857 Ullrich was filled with unsurpassed admiration for the monument, its conception, execution and situation; indeed, he saw it as one of the finest monuments to a writer in the world:


(Ullrich, 405f.)

In 1850 Lewald had also been moved by the sight of the monument, but her account is not without reservations:

Ich weiss die Gestalt des Denkmals nicht anders zu
bezeichnen, als indem ich es einen, in das Anglo-
gothische übersetzten Obelisken nenne, der von
vier kleinen, säulenartigen Obelisken umgeben und
durch Bogen mit ihren verbunden ist. Dadurch
erhält das Denkmal eine, seiner Höhe angemessene
Ausbreitung auf der Erde, und sieht zugleich
imposant und leicht, würdig und heiter aus, wozu
der schöne, weisse Marmor das Seinige beiträgt.

She goes on to describe the statue of Scott and concludes:

Die Idee und die Ausführung sind vortrefflich,
nur will mich bedenken, als ob die Figur, die
eigentliche Statue, für die Grösse des Monuments
zu klein sei, und davon erdrückt würde. Die
Gesamtwirkung aber ist schön, und es ist sehr
richtig, dass man es in dem anglo-mittelalterlichen Style
aufgeführt hat, der für Scott, den Dichter des
englischen Mittelalters, der geforderte war. Es
erschütterte mich tief, zu sehen, in wie gross-
artiger Weise das Volk seinem Barden zu danken und
ihn zu ehren weiss.

(Lewald, ii, 187f.)

While Lewald's description is an account of her own personal impressions,
Förster's account, which is more detailed but less vivid, appears to be
taken direct from a guide-book, probably Black's. Thus he gives the
cost of the building and names the various figures from Scottish litera-
ture and characters from Scott's novels portrayed in the many statuettes.
But he does also add some of his own comment. He notes that the monu-
ment's position is strategic, in that it is the first sight to meet the
eye of visitors emerging from the station. He also stresses that the
monument brings together the two arts of sculpture and architecture and,
unlike Lewald and Ullrich, he regards the Scott statue itself both as
a separate entity and as part of the whole, and as one of Steell's
sculptures, a work of art in its own right. His conclusion, however,
is no different from Lewald's, for he sees the statue as "ein leideri
in aller Beziehung untergeordneter Theil des schönen Denkmale" (Förster,
307). Again like Lewald, his final comment does not concern the monu-
ment itself, but the extent of public spirit which had engendered it;
the cost of 115,650 had come from donations alone: "Und Schottland gilt
für ein armes Land! Da wird es schwer, eine Bemerkung nicht zu machen"
(ibid., 309).

In keeping with his opinion of the "monument cult" in London, Kalck-
stein cannot bring himself to equal the respectful comments of those above.
His remarks are more akin to ridicule:

Die vielen Schnörkel, Bogen und Vorsprünge ... machen den Eindruck eines abgebrochenen auf den Boden gestellten obers Theils eines gotischen Thurm's und das Marmorstandbild des in einer engen Nische eingezwängten Dichters gleicht einer in fröstelnder Stellung zusammengekauerten Gestalt die hier Schutz vor Regen und Sturm sucht. Diese Statue stimmt ebenso wenig zu dem Material des in Sandstein gehauenen Obelisk wie überhaupt zu dem Stil der ganzen Umgebung. Ich sandte im Vorübergehen dem in seiner kerkerähnlichen Behausung sitzenden Barden meine Grüsse zu ...

(Kalckstein, 205f.)

The opposite extreme was represented by Rellstab's sentimental outburst:

Edler Dichter! Du sitzest ruhig, sinnend in der Gotischen Halle, die Dich mit ihren Bogen umgibt und überwölbt, und über Deinem Haupt steigt die schlanké Spitzsäule in die blauen Lüfte empor. Dir zu Füssen liegt Dein treuer Hund. Sie haben den Dichter des Volks abgebildet wie das Volk ihn gesehen, unter das er sich so oft, so gern, so tief verstehend, mischte.

(Rellstab, i, 265)

Rellstab's eulogy continues, with no recognition of the monument as a piece of art. Similarly, when he had earlier acknowledged Flaxman as the sculptor of the Burns statue in Glasgow University Library, he did not stop to consider the work as a piece of art (ibid., 232).

The sculptors of the works commented on by the Germans receive little recognition. Arguably the greatest of the contemporary Scottish sculptors, Sir John Steell, was yet to complete many of his works, but by the time of Waagen's visit his contribution to the Scott Monument had been joined by the equestrian statue of Wellington in front of Register House. Kalckstein merely gives the latter a fleeting glance, but Waagen, to whom Steell himself was to show his works, detects artistic aims in common with the work of Rauch, an opinion contested by Kalckstein in his earlier remarks. To Waagen Steell was "an artist of the greatest talent" (Waagen, 267). Although Waagen was later to comment on works by Thomas Campbell and Ullrich was to include the work of the Edinburgh-born architectural painter, David Roberts, in his account of the Manchester Art Exhibition (Waagen, Galleries and Cabinets, 435 & 445 and Ullrich, 313), few others are even mentioned by name.
The earlier visitors of course had much less choice of subject-matter. At the time of Schopenhauer's visit in 1803 the position of Steell's Wellington was occupied by Anne Seymour Damer's marble statue of George III. Schopenhauer, who is eager to concede the beauty of Adam's architectural design, finds no cause to praise the sculptress for her art, although she is ready to commend her on other grounds:

Das schönste Gebäude in Edinburgh ist das Register-Office; es dient zu mannichfaltigen öffentlichen Zwecken. In einer, durch eine Kuppel von oben erleuchtenden Rotunde sahen wir hier die marmorne Statue des jetzigen Könige. Mrs. Damer, eine Dame von Stande in London, hat sie der Stadt geschenkt und, was das merkwürdigste dabei ist, sie hat sie selbst verfertigt. Man muss ihren guten Willen ehren, die Statue selbst ist ein unförmliches Machwerk.

(Schopenhauer, 278)

The following decade Spiker was of a similar opinion; he dismissed the monument as one of Mrs. Damer's lesser works (Spiker, 207)

Spiker was an 18th Century man of reason, his heroes being Hume and Robertson rather than his own contemporary Scott. On visiting their memorials, he ignores the artistic design and concentrates on the inscriptions. He found Gregory's Latin inscription on Robertson's tomb in Greyfriars Churchyard long and pompous, but he thoroughly approved of Hume's monument in the Calton burial ground: "De einfachen Worte: D. Hume, sagen mehr, ais eine lange Inschrift" (Spiker, 209). Spiker's attitude to the buildings and monuments on Calton Hill further underline this aspect of his character and point of view. The Observatory was then only four years old, but although he found the building small and neat, his real interest lay in the telescope, two globes and "camera obscura". Nelson's Monument had been completed in 1815, the year before Spiker's visit, but once again, although he describes the building, he was chiefly taken with the fact that cheerful dinner parties were held in the restaurant within and that there was an attractive flower garden surrounding it (ibid.). Rather than writing of Nelson's achievements, he discusses the recently completed trigonometrical survey of a certain Colonel Mudge, who had worked from the summit of Calton Hill. Meidinger also commented on the restaurant. In Edinburgh only a few years after Spiker, he took a similar attitude to the buildings on Calton
Hill, paying little attention to the aesthetic aspect of the architecture, although he does comment on the "Chinese" style of Nelson's Monument (Meidinger, Briefe, 137). He concentrates instead on the plan and dimensions of the new Observatory, one of whose chief points of interest in his opinion was that it housed Jacob Short's Reflector.

Otto's 1822 opinion of Nelson's Monument was honest:

Den Gipfel des Felsens Calton-Hill ziert das Ehrendenkmal Nelsons, welches in einer gewissen Entfernung recht hübsch aussieht, aber in der Nähe betrachtet hässlich ist. Die Form soll die eines Mastes seyn; man sollte schwerlich glauben, dass dieser unförmliche Denkstein wirklich ein Ehrendenkmal sey. Es wird aber auch gesagt, dass man willens sey ihn niederzureissen und an dessen Statt ein Pantheon zu erbauen. Die Inschrift ist schön und passend ...

(Otto, 300)

As if to compensate for his distaste for the monument's design, he translates the inscription in full. The same year Löwenthal remarked in passing that on first sight Nelson's Monument looked like the Observatory, and vice versa! (Löwenthal, 125). The following decade Isensee's reaction was markedly different. Having remarked on the fine statues of the New Town, commenting that that of Pitt was higher even than Blücher's in Berlin, which itself had been considered too high - "Als wenn zu Blüchers Ehre etwas zu hoch sein könnte!" (Isensee, 128) - he continues:

Nimmer aber werde ich Nelson's Denkmal auf dem Calton Hill vergessen, dass ich schon am ersten Morgen, am südlichen Ende der zwar fast nur einreihigen, aber prachtvollen, mehrere tausend Schritt langen, schnurgeraden Princes Street, über der er auf hohem Felsen thront, bewundert hatte. Es ist eine 90 Fuss hohe Säule innerhalb welcher eine Wendeltreppe auf das, einem vierseitigen Balkon ähnliche Capital führt. O könnten doch alle die der Staub der Erde fesselt, alle die um erhaben zu sein, eines hohen Standpunktes bedürfen, alle die um Demuth zu lernen, ergreifende, grossartige Eindrücke auf sich wirken lassen müssen; o könnten alle, denen Krankheit und Elend, Kleinmuth und Kummer, Unglück und Sorgen, das ganze irdische Dasein im trüben, verzweifelten Lichte erscheinen lassen: Könnten sie hier sich laben am Anblick göttlicher Kraft und menschlicher Werke durch sie!

(Isensee, 129)

This new personal involvement was a mark of Isensee's own character, but
also, even if exaggerated, it indicated changing attitudes.

In a footnote Isensee had remarked how impressed he had been by memorials to Nelson throughout Britain, from the rich monument at Windsor in gold, alabaster and marble, to those in the poorest Scots porter- and alehouses, fashioned in plaster and clay and poorly painted (ibid., 128f. footnote). Over fifteen years later Rellstab was also to comment on the abundance of Nelson memorials, exclaiming on Calton Hill, "Hier abermals eine? Und wie grossartig!" (Rellstab, i, 244). His thoughts echo those of Lewald:

So reich ist England, dass es seinem gefeierten Helden überall an würdiger Stätte Denkmale setzt. In Deutschland, wie mühsam haben wir für unse grössten Männer Denkmale aufgebracht, und oft wie kümmerliche! Und wie Viele entbehren deren noch ganz! Selbst der grosse Friedrich musste ein Jahrhundert warten, auf ein Denkmal in seiner Hauptstadt! Und England übersetzt sich mit Säulen, Bildsäulen, Thürmen zum Gedächtniss seiner grossen Männer! (ibid., 244f.)

His admiration for the National Monument is even greater: "Mit einer stolzen Säulenfront schaut es Dich an und ruft Dir zu: England hat Helden, denn es weisse sie zu ehren! (ibid., 245)

Otto and Löwenthal were in Edinburgh the year that the foundation stone for the National Monument was laid in 1822.²⁶ By the time Kohl visited the capital, twenty years later, Calton Hill was adorned with yet more monuments, and while he could not ignore them, he was obviously not quite sure what to make of them:

Erstlich findet man daseelbst ein hohes Monument für Nelson, das einer Art von Leuchthurm ähnlich sieht, dann eines für Playfair, ein anderes für Dugald Stewart und am Fusse des Hügels ein viertes für den Dichter Burns, der sich auf seinem Sterbelaager gefreut haben würde, wenn er nur über einen Theil der Summe zu disponiren gehabt hätte, die man sich nach seinem Tode auf Monuments für ihn verwendet hat. Endlich zeigt sich der Anfang zu einem grossen Monument, das diesen Monumenten-Hügel krönen sollte, wie das Parthenon die Akropolis in Athen. Dies markwürdige Monument, "the national monument", sollte ein Tempel nach der Art eben jenes Parthenons werden und dem Andenken der Sieger bei Waterloo gewidmet sein. Entweder war aber die Begeisterung für diese Idee nicht dauernd genug, oder sie stand in keinem richtigen Verhältnisse mit der Besorgnis, zuviel Geld auszugeben. Kurz es wurden nur 10 oder 12 Säulen, deren jede 1000 Pfund Sterling kostete, von diesem Tempel fertig. (Kohl, i, 46f.)
Two years later Carus, who was greatly taken with the Classical style of the Observatory, "welches ... einen bedeutenden Anblick gewährt, da es den Gebäuden der alten Thore der Akropolis von Athen, in reinen Verhältnissen treu nachgebildet ist" (Carus, ii, 298), and was less practically minded than Kohl, was able to view the National Monument's Classical associations as enhancement:

It is evident that Carus had little admiration for the Calton Hill Monuments architecturally, but he was prepared to overlook this:

Similarly, he dismissed the newly completed Scott Monument as "ein kolossales gothisches Monument, ein wahrer Thurm, mit Bögen und Spitzen" (ibid., 299), but highly approved of its existence as a memorial to a great man.

Some years later Förster was to give his description of the monuments on Calton Hill and indicate the Classical enthusiasm which had engendered them. He, too, feels that the National Monument is more picturesque in its uncompleted state, and adds a note of humour. In its ruinous form the monument is
... ja sogar bildhauerischen [Anforderungen mehr entsprechend], da sich zwischen den Grundmauern und unter den Säulenstücken ein Meister des Fache angesiedelt hat, und die Umgebung des Heiligtums mit seinen allerdings sehr unhellenischen Gestalten gegen unbezahlten Eintritt besetzt hält.

(Förster, 305)

Some visitors were to regret the incompleted state of the National Monument. Pulszky considered the other monuments, however fine their architectural style, to be superfluous in the light of the effect which the National Monument alone would produce, and ideally in its completed state (Pulszky, 179). Förster, however, was happy to accept the situation as he found it. Having described the style of the monuments and of the nearby Royal High School, and having duly acknowledged their architects, he attempts to express in words the effect of Calton Hill on the visitor:

Es ist vielleicht der stärkste Beweis für das eigen-
ämliche Gepräge von Edinburgh, dass es durch diese
ganz fremdartigen, ganz contrastirenden Zusätze an
derer Wirkung nichts verliert, ja dass sie zwar die
dielle einer Dissonanz, aber einer
aufgelösten, in dem ganzen Zusammenklang der Massen
einnehmen.

(Förster, 305f.)

Other Edinburgh statues and monuments did of course gain mention and, in some instances praise, from that of St. Bernard's Well to the much older equestrian statue of Charles II in Parliament Square. Otto reports in 1822 that the people of Edinburgh had fiercely resisted the erection of the monument to Lord Melville, since he was a Tory, but that, despite this opposition, work was in progress on it in St. Andrew Square during his visit (Otto, 297). Glasgow, too, had monuments of note, such as Flaxman's statue of Melville's prime minister, Pitt, on which Spiker commented at some length (Spiker, 284). Kohl was much impressed with the Necropolis in Glasgow, which had been opened in 1831, eleven years before his visit. He found it "reich an Monumenten und überhaupt einer der schönsten Kirchhöfe ... die Europa aufzuweisen hat":

... er kann sich durchaus dem Père la Chaise29 wenn auch
not in Bezug auf die Fülle der Monumente, doch in
Bezug auf die Gruppierung derselben und in Bezug auf
seine ganze Situation an die Seiten stellen. Es ist
ein schöner Hügel, der eben so wie die ihm umgebenden
Vertiefungen und Thäler mit Bäumen, Gräbern und
Also writing of Glasgow, Lewald was to see the lighter side of the monument to Scott in George Square:

Der erste Punkt, der dem Fremden als schön in das Auge fällt, ist George Square, ein prächtiger Platz, um dessen Gartenanlagen fünf, sechs der elegantesten Hotels gelegen sind, und aus dessen Mitte sich eine Säule mit dem Standbilde Walter Scott's erhebt. Die Säule soll achtzig Fuss hoch sein, und so gross auch die Statue des Dichters sein mag, der in einem karritren Plaid auf derselben dargestellt ist, möchte ich doch den Menschen sehen, der es in solcher Ferne zu erkennen vermag, dass, wie es im Handbuch heisst: "the expression of the countenance is characterised by that air of 'bonhomie' and shrewd sense, which distinguished that illustrious individual". Wir lachten hell auf, als wir es lasen.

(Lewald, ii, 487)

ii. Buildings

Edinburgh

It was as the Athens of the North that Edinburgh's architecture impressed the German visitors. Whereas they expressed mixed feelings regarding the artistic worth of the monuments and memorials in Scotland as a whole, they were unanimous in their praise of Edinburgh's New Town. The impressions, even of the earlier travellers, who witnessed only the beginnings of the New Town, are all very similar. The Old Town, if unique in its construction, seemed uninvitingly cramped and squalid, but the New Town, with its superb setting, surpassed most, if not all, other cities in Europe for its uncommon beauty, regularity and spaciousness. Many pages are devoted to this subject and an attempt will be made here to collect a representative selection of comments.

Two early views, from Schopenhauer and Nemnich, although from works of very different emphasis, present the town as it appeared in the first

(Schopenhauer, 273f.)

Die Altstadt ist die eigentliche City of Edinburgh, von einer alten, grössten theils unregelmässigen, und überhaupt seltsamen Bauart. Die ungeheuer hohen Häuser in der High-Street, deren Hintertheil oft 12 bis 14 Stock hinaufgeht, sind das erste, was dem Fremden auffällt. Die nördlich über das Thal gehende Brücke, welche seit ungefähr 35 Jahren fertig geworden ist, verbindet die Altstadt mit der Neustadt, und hat von der High-Street bis zur Prince's Street, eine Länge von 1125 Fuss. Ihr Bau hat 18000 Pf. St. gekostet. Auserdem ist, in noch neueren Zeiten, eine Kommunikation beider Städte, mittelst eines Erdamms (The Earthen Mound) bewerkstelligt worden. Die Länge desselben ist 800 Fuss, und man hat die kuriöse Berechnung gemacht, dass 1,305,700 Karren voll Erde dazu erforderlich gewesen sind.

Die Neustadt (New Town), verdient als die Zierde von Schotland angesehen zu werden.

(Nemmich, 492f.)

Nemmich was to prove this last statement through a stastical account of the New Town, giving dates, costs and dimensions, and although much information of this kind was given by the later travellers, others relied on their own descriptive powers to give an impression of the architectural grandeur. A few years after Nemnich Holzenthal was to use adjectives in his account of Edinburgh which were to recur frequently in the works of his successors: "stattlich", "breit", "schön", "prächtig", "herrlich", "elegant", "reich" and "geschmackvoll" (Holzenthal, 202f. & 234f.). Holzenthal also admired parts of the Old Town architecture, especially the High Street, St. Giles, Parliament Square and the Castle, of which he writes "[es] blickt majestatisch hernieder" (ibid., 203). In 1816 Spiker, who also considered the Castle majestic (Spiker, 199), was one of
the very few to comment on the Southside. The impression he gained of the Old Town was thus more favourable than most, but still it could not compete with the New:

...freundlicher nimmt sich hingegen der südlichste Teil der Stadt aus, wo die Gebäude grössere Zwischenräume haben, und unter andern den einzigen Platz, George-Square, bilden, den die Altstadt aufzuweisen hat, der aber so wenig besucht zu seyn scheint, dass auf den mit Quadern belegten Fusssteinen, an den Häusern hin, das Gras zwischen den Steinen emporschiesst. Das Gewimmel auf den Strassen der Altstadt ist, besonders auf den beiden Brücken, höchst lebendig und unterhaltend, und diese, in ihrer ganzen Länge, bis zur Universität hin, mit glänzenden Läden, denen in Cheapside und im Strande zu London ähnlichen, besetzt. Gänzlich von der Altstadt an Bau und Anordnung verschieden ist die überrasche Neustadt. Hier durchschneiden sich die breiten, geräumigen und reinlichen Strassen in rechten Winkeln, und alles, selbst das verminderte Gewühl auf den Strassen, lässt sogleich errathen, dass man sich in dem West-End der Stadt befindet.

(Spiker, 197f.)

In two footnotes he comments that Parliament Square is scarcely one eigth the size of George Square and that the "West End" is the common appellation for the grander residential district of London. In describing the lay-out of the New Town, Spiker, like Nemnich, gives exact dimensions, commenting also on the practical advantages of the design of Princes Street, where several carriages could fit abreast in front of the houses, still leaving ample room for the "beau monde" to promenade along the broad pavement. A few years later Otto was also to comment on the midday promenades of Edinburgh's well-to-do; otherwise, apart from its architectural beauty, he found the New Town empty of people and desolate, a criticism he was not alone in making. Leith was the true trading and business centre and even the Old Town lacked such activity. It was nonetheless interesting, however:

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Die "alte Stadt" ist schmutzig und hässlich; nur zwei einander durchkreuzende Strassen sind erträglich. Da sie auf mehren Anhöhen erbaut ist, sind einige Strassen über einander; von den Brücken, welche diese verbinden, sieht man in die untern elenden Strassen herab. Alle Häuser sind von grossen grauen Sandsteinen erbaut, welche ihnen allen ein einförmiges und ermüdendes Ansehen geben. Die mehrsten sind 3 bis 4 Etagen hoch, also wohnen mehrere Familien in einem Hause, wodurch viel Comfort verloren geht. (In der alten Stadt giebt es sogar Häuser, die 8, 9 – 10 Stockwerke hoch sind). Die Treppen sind meistens von Stein; da aber hier
kein Mangel an Eisen ist, sind die meisten Häuser von schönen eisernen Gittern umgeben.

(Otto, 297)

One feature of the New Town which struck many of the earlier visitors was its symmetry. Frank, in 1803, had written, "Mit einem Worte, die neue Stadt sieht vollkommen einem Regiment Soldaten, das drei Mann hoch steht und in Compagnien abgetheilt ist, ähnlich" (Frank, 214). Otto considered the New Town "wegen der Symmetrie und Regelmässigkeit ohne Zweifel eine der schönsten in Europa" (Otto, 297), and Löwenthal was to describe it as "ein Triumph der Regelmässigkeit und Symmetrie", which put the splendour of London's West End to shame (Löwenthal, 124). But above all, it remained the contrast between the New and the Old which was most striking. Spiker, who was not given to displaying emotion wrote:

Das finstere, unausprechende, gegen die Freundlichkeit der Gebäude in England so grell abstechende Ansehen der 6, 8 und mehrere Stockwerke hohen Häuser in dem Theile von Edinburgh, den wir beim Eintritt sahen, erregte in uns den Zweifel, ob man bei der schönen, freundlichen Stadt, nicht einige Vorliebe habe obwalten lassen. Dieser Zweifel verschwand aber sogleich, als wir, um die Ecke von Leith-Street biegend, in die schöne Princes-Street einlenkten.

Edinburgh ist durch seine Lage so auffallend begünstigt, dass es nur einer mässigen Achtungkeit der Baumeister bedurfte, die Erweiterungen desselben zu Verschönerungen zu machen. (Spiker, 193f.)

He goes on to name some of the contrasts, the height and colour of the buildings, the width of the streets. During his visit the New Town extension on the North side of Queen Street was being built and he expresses surprise at the speed with which the work was being carried out. The following year, Meissner, too, wrote of this. He sees the juxtaposition of old and new, past and present, as enhancement:
By the time of Meidinger's visit in 1820, the new road round Calton Hill was nearly completed and visitors were soon to be able to approach Edinburgh without having to drive through the Old Town. Meidinger devotes many pages to his description of Edinburgh, which is typically full and factual (Meidinger, Briefe, 124ff & Reisen, 8ff.). While he saw the New Town as Scottish, it was also "ganz im neuen englischen Geschmack" (ibid., Briefe, 133). He, too, was astonished at the growth and wealth of the New Town, praising the Register Office but dismissing the insignificant theatre, and he joined many others in considering George Street to be one of the finest, if not the finest, street in Europe. The year before his visit Regents Bridge had been opened, and South Bridge Street had added an elegance to the New Town. Meidinger reports that the building land was more expensive here than anywhere else, costing from £96,000-£151,000 per acre. In contrast he was to witness the dirt and cramped conditions of the Canongate at first hand (ibid., Reisen, 11f.).

One might have expected the most detailed architectural report to come from Schinkel, out of professional interest, but in most respects his account differs little from others. He does make some critical comment on individual designs, however. Writing of Adam's and Playfair's design for the Advocate's Library, for instance, he says:

Herrlich ist der Stein, aus dem das Gebäude, sowie überhaupt alle Bauten um Edinburgh, errichtet ist; er giebt Veranlassung zu einem sehr schönen Stein- schnitt. Die angewandten Pilaster und überhaupt alles Detail ruht auf der Nachahmung griechischer Monumente; es fehlt jedoch das feine Gefühl für das Verhältniss und für consequente Anwendung. (Schinkel, iii, 92f.)

Later he writes of "neue Kirchen mit verunglückten Thürmen, und Strassenanlagen, bei denen mir in der Architektur der Privathäuser manches Gutes auffiel" (ibid., 95), but the buildings which seem to have interested him most in Edinburgh were the Gas Works! He pays tribute to Walter Scott's plan and the architect William Burn's design and inc-
ludes some sketches in his diary (ibid.). Later he also draws a diagram of Gillespie Graham's design for the houses of the New Town; he was impressed above all by the fine seaviews they enjoyed, due to the sharp incline of the ground (ibid., 96).

The above travellers of the 1820's had been in Edinburgh during the second extension of the New Town. By the 1830's the huge expenditure was being felt, but, as Hailbronner pointed out, this in no way detracted from the grandeur of the architecture:

Die gute Stadt Edinburg hat ihren Ruhm, das andere Athen zu heissen, etwas theuer bezahlt, denn sie soll so verschuldet seyn, dass keine Rettung abzusehen ist. Man muss ihr aber zugestehen, dass alle ihre Unternehmungen vom feinsten Kunstsinn und besten Kunstgeschmack geleitet sind. Die öffentlichen Gebäude, so wie die ganze Anlage der Stadt, zeugen von weit höheren Kunstansichten, als man sie in London findet, und die Erweiterung der alten Stadt gegen das Bergschloss hinauf wird sehr viel zu ihrer Schönheit beitragen.

(Hailbronner, 338f.)

The nearly completed University deserved particular mention in Hailbronner's view, both the exterior and interior being splendid yet practical. Beyond this Hailbronner expressed opinions already familiar, that Edinburgh's situation and lay-out were unique, that the sandstone of the new buildings was most attractive and the beauty of the latter all the more striking in contrast with the Old Town. He notes that while the new architecture was similar to that found all over Britain, that of the Old Town was innately Scottish, "dieses ehrwürdige Convolut alter Gebäude" (ibid., 333), and that it was the combination of the two which made Edinburgh unique.

Hailbronner also comments on an effect which was to strike several others at this time, namely that of the lights of the Old Town. Moscheles had remarked on this in 1828 (Moscheles, 184) and both Hailbronner and Isensee were to be deeply moved by the sight:

Ich näherte mich der Stadt Abends. Die ersten Beschäftigungen der Ankunft führten die Nacht heran, ohne dass wir uns umsehen konnten. Als wir auf die Princesstreet traten, wo wir wohnten, sahen wir eine unendliche Menge glänzender Lichter ringsum in Höhen und Tiefen schimmernd vor uns ausgebreitet, und da wir zuerst auf die Brücke geritten, welche beide Stadttheile verbindet, so war es durchaus nicht möglich, uns über die
Isensee's reaction was more effusive:


(Isensee, 115f.)

Isensee was to find many points of comparison between Edinburgh and Munich, both having contrasting Old and New Towns ("eine russige Altstadt" and "eine pompöse Neustadt" (ibid., 127)) and both enjoying a Classical revival in architecture. But Edinburgh's contrast was created naturally, Munich's by the building of King Ludwig's majestic palaces:


(ibid.)
Yet Isensee finds Munich more artistically planned, even if he has high praise for the simple, yet varied, buildings, streets and statues of Edinburgh, whose squares are much finer even than those of Paris:

So ist denn Edinburg längst, wie München erst jetzt, und beide hoffentlich für alle kommenden Zeiten, zum Sitze des Geschmacks in Kunst und Wissenschaft gegründet!

(ibid., 128)

Later he was to compare Edinburgh with Berlin; again Edinburgh had the natural advantage, but Berlin was grander. Raumer also compared Edinburgh with Berlin that year, yet to him Edinburgh's situation had the overall advantage. Raumer does not allow this comparison to bias his view and instead compares Edinburgh directly with London. He finds Edinburgh’s public buildings especially tasteful and artistic:

... nirgends solche missglückte Gebäude wie in Charingcross, wie der grosse Koffer auf dem Mansionhouse, oder Buckinghamhouse. Die edinburgher Baukünstler übertreffen die londoner, und die Begeisterung der öffentlichen Beamten für die Verschönerung ihrer Vaterstadt verdient Lob, obgleich sie gewiss von manchen Seite her getadelt worden sind. Hoffentlich wird Caltonhill sich immer mehr in eine athenische Akropolis verwandeln, und wie der Ruhm des Perikles und Phidias alle Tadler überdauert, möge der Himmel den schottischen Nachahmern Hülfsmittel und Ausdauer verleihen; der Ruhm wird dann nicht ausbleiben.

(Raumer, 1835, 364f.)

Seven years later, in 1842, Kohl was to be equally impressed by the New Town, considering George Street one of the most imposing streets in Europe and expressing particular admiration for the many "quadratische, cirkelrunde, elliptische, octogone frei Plätze und Gärten" (Kohl, i, 45). By the 1840’s the contrast between the Old and New Towns had in no way diminished. In order to see how 'the other half' lives, Kohl goes right into the Old Town closes, where he witnesses extreme poverty and squalor:

Jene Closes sind nämlich die engsten Gäschen, die irgendwo in der Welt vorkommen. Denn sowohl die engen Gassen in Genoa als auch die der orientalisichen Städte sind breite Landstrassen dagegen. Einige stellen in der That buchstäblich nur einen 1½ bis 2 Ellen breiten Spalt zwischen den Häusern vor. Sonst waren die Häuser an den Seiten dieser Closes von Edelleuten bewohnt, und viele tragen auch heute den Namen alter Familien; ... Diese Herren bauten sich mit Fleiss in so engen Räumen ein, um gelegentlich desto sicherer sein

Although attempts were being made to clean up the area, and some houses were being pulled down, the appalling conditions were to continue for many years to come. 31 Nonetheless the extraordinary nature of the Old Town had its attractions:

Ich muss sagen, ich gewann für die ausserordentlichen Zustände und Haushaltungen in diesen antiken Edinburgh, die nirgend ihres Gleichen finden, eine Art von Passion und besuchte sie mehrere Male bei Nacht und bei Tage. ... Die alten Gebäude sind ... so solide gebaut und so gross, dass eines eegzubrechen schon viele Kosten macht, und dass vorauszusehen ist, sie werden noch lange stehen. (ibid., 54)

While Kohl's interest was primarily sociological, the actual architecture of the historic buildings of the Old Town continued to puzzle the Germans. As Spiker had pointed out nearly thirty years before, St. Giles, although great in dimension, was possessed of too many architectural styles and surrounded by such ordinary buildings that any impression it might otherwise make was spoilt (Spiker, 203). The buildings which the Germans found most interesting historically, the Castle and Holyrood House, were a blatant disappointment architecturally. Carus is one of the few to dwell on the architecture of Holyrood's exterior, and in doing so he reveals why it did not attract his compatriots:

Das Gebäude ... hat einen wunderlich eigenthümlichen, etwas unbeholfen Styl. Vier Eckthürme, mit spitzen Dächern je zwei und zwei zusammen vorspringend, und vier Flügel schlossen einen viereckigen Hof ein, und geben dem Ganzen mehr ein Castellartiges Ansehen als das eines königlichen Palastes. (Carus, ii, 302)

Even though Scotland's history is dark and mysterious, Carus considers
that the country's royal palace should nonetheless live up to the European standards of Versailles, Schönbrunn or Charlottenburg. Holyrood does not fit into any known category; despite the romantic attraction of past events in the Palace's rooms,

Dabei ist die Physiognomie des Innern sonderbar - es ist nicht neu, es ist nicht alt, nicht modern englisch elegant, nicht alterthümlich französisch und schwerfällig; - es ist nicht ganz wüste, es ist nicht bewohnt - nicht finster und auch nicht heiter - kurz, es ist schwer, den eigentlichen Charakter des Ganzen anders zu schildern als durch diese Widersprüche! (ibid.)

There was little new that the travellers of the 1850's could add. More buildings and monuments had certainly been erected since the earlier visits, but descriptions of them would be repetitive nonetheless. This did not detract from the visitors' pleasure, however, nor indeed discourage Brandes and his like from describing the beauty of Edinburgh's architecture at some length:

Edinburgh, möchte ich sagen, ist die prächtigste, alterthümlichste, modernste und romantischste Stadt, die ich gesehen habe. Um Dir, günstiger Leser, ein Bild davon zu entwerfen, besteigen wir am Sonntag Morgen, wo Alles still und ausgestorben ist, Arthurs Sitz und beschauen von diesem erhabenen Platze Stadt und Umgebung. (Brandes, 59)

By including the reader, Brandes keeps the description alive, but although it is well written in an easy and vivid style, there is little of novelty in it. As a Classical scholar, the concept of Edinburgh as Modern Athens appealed to Brandes perhaps more than any of his compatriots:

Denn ausser vielen Gebäuden griechischen Style kann man bei dem Calton Hill an die mit Tempeln und Denkmälern geschmückte Akropolis, bei dem Hafenorte Leith an den Piräus, bei dem Busen des Forth an den Busen von Egina und bei Arthurs Sitz und den übrigen Bergen an die Berge Attika's denken. (ibid., 65)

Brandes retains his reader's interest by adding historical anecdote in a fashion which looks forward to Fontane, but, unlike Fontane, he describes many of the buildings and monuments individually, giving statistics and dimensions.
Fürster, too, includes the reader in his account of Edinburgh—"Doch ich will meine Leser, die mich bis York begleiten, nicht an das Ziel stellen, sondern führen" (Fürster, 295). His enthusiasm is genuine and therefore infectious; the sight of Edinburgh is to him a "wirkliche Festesfreude":

So hoch das Auge sieht — immer neue Häusergruppen, hinter denen aus den ununterbrochen aufquellenden Rauchwolken noch höher gelegene Häuser, als wären sie in die Luft gebaut, zum Vorschein kommen, bis endlich hoch oben auf steilem Felsen das alte Castell sichtbar wird, das sie alle überragt, und mit seinen Zinnen die Wolken des Himmels durchschniedet. Und mitten in diesem Chor aufstrebender Massen steht, das Gepräge derselben theils durch Widerspruch, theils durch Concentration verstärkend, eine grosses Zahl öffentlicher Monumente, der Religion, der Heimatliebe, der Kunst und jeglichem Verdienst gewidmet. (ibid., 300ff.)

and later:

Und welche Besonnenheit in der Anlage der Strassen! Überall ist dem Auge eine Freude gesichert, ohne die Rücksichten auf das materielle Wohl zu verletzen. ... immer sind die Strassen so angelegt, dass sie von hervorragenden Punkten zu bedeutenden Zielen führen, und bei den Kreuzungen wo möglich immer nach allen vier Richtungen interessante Sichten bieten, wobei man vorkommenden Falls mit der Errichtung von Monumenten dem malerisch-architektonischen Sinn zu Hülfe gekommen ist. (ibid., 301ff.)

The description continues at some length, naming individual buildings and monuments. Fürster is gratified to find that the Classical style is not only reserved for such public institutions as the Calton Gaol ("dieser Palatium der Romantik" (ibid., 306), but is used for all buildings. In short Edinburgh is "die vielfach gekrönte nordische Herrscherin ..., die prachtreiche Stadt der Schotten mit ihren Wunderbauten, den malerischen Häusergruppen und den reizenden Hügeln sammt ihren entzückenden Fernsichten" (ibid., 346). But Fürster's account was not all praise. Gillespie Graham's Assembly Hall may be picturesque and splendid from outside, for instance, but inside it was a disappointment, its wooden interior showing none of the promise of the grand pillars of the exterior (ibid., 312). Some interiors did interest the visitors, however, and one such was Parliament House. The carved oak roof of the great hall
was described with interest by Lewald: "Sie besteht aus Eichenbalken, die, wie die Rippen eines Bootes geformt und wunderlich in einander verschlungen, mit den freien Enden in die Halle hinabhängen" (Lewald, ii, 229). By this time the travellers were appreciating increasingly that a tour of the Old Town and close contact with Edinburgh's oldest buildings gave insight into history. Although the Old Town still seemed repellent to Lewald, she was also genuinely interested in its construction:


The following year, in 1851, Rellstab's attitude to Holyrood was similar to that of Carus. While Holyrood seemed to him like a prison, Calton Gaol seemed palatial and he exclaims, "Ist es etwa das neue Königsschloß?" (Rellstab, i, 243). Rellstab seldom goes beyond such superficial observations, although he makes a serious comparison between Edinburgh and three European cities, Prague, Graz and Venice, on account of their situation, castle and contrasting Old and New Towns respectively (ibid., 258ff.). His overall conclusion is familiar. After describing George Street and its monuments, he writes:

Glaubt mir Leser, dieser ganze Weg erfüllt uns, selbst nach all dem, was wir schon von der herrlichen Stadt gesehen, immer noch mit Staunen über den grossartigen Stil in ihrer Gesamtheit, in Anlage der Strassen, Plätze, Gebäuden. (ibid., 263)
Kalckstein’s impressions are more sober and, accordingly, more informative. He compares Edinburgh’s New Town with London’s new buildings and sees the former much enhanced by the slopes on which it is built and the trees which adorn its squares (Kalckstein, 189). Once more the words “Pracht” and “Eleganz” are used to describe the buildings of the New Town, while the impression of the Old Town is also familiar. Kalckstein’s social conscience, however, makes him first stress the crime and poverty which accompany the cramped, unhealthy conditions of the old buildings:

Wenn man hier die schmalen, oft von neun-bis zehnstöckigen Häusern eingefassten Gassen durchschreitet, die häufig so enge sind, dass ein Ausweichen unmöglich wird, so kann man sich im Hinblick auf jene höhlenartigen Wohnungen mit der dumpfen und drückenden Luft in denselben und den die Stelle von Fenstern vertretenden teilweise offenen Mauernischen, des Gefühls einer schaudernden Mitempfindung mit den Wesen nicht erwähnen, die zu gleicher Glückseligkeit wie überufen, hier Tage einer grässlichen Verödung an Allem, was dem Leben Reiz und Anregung giebt, verleben. Diese grauen, durch ihr festes Gefüge der zerstörenden Einwirkung der Zeit trotzenden Mauern, ursprünglich die Sitze des alten schottischen Feudal-Adels, haben sich eine solche Umwandlung ihrer Bestimmung wohl schwerlich träumen lassen.

(Kalckstein, 190f.)

Rellstab had equated the Old Town with medieval towns in Germany, but Ullrich was to find a major difference:

Ein Gang durch die Altstadt scheint uns plötzlich um Jahrhunderte zurück zu versetzen. Die meisten Strassen und Plätze haben hier ihre mittelalterliche Physiognomie behalten; aber der Anblick hat nichts mit der schmuckreichen Zierlichkeit gemein, die wir in den mittelalterlichen Städten unserer deutschen Heimath, z.B. in Nürnberg, anzutreffen pflegen; man erkennt, dass hier im schottischen Norden ein kunstloses und rauhes Geschlecht hauste.

(Ullrich, 406f.)

Ullrich goes on to describe the buildings themselves, their height and cramped form, the rough nature of the stone, grey and sometimes broken from age, whitewash peeling off, and the open staircases with their railings. He also mentions a few details apparently unnoticed by others:

Einzelne Häuser bestehen aus Fachwerk und die oberen Etagen ragen über die untere nach der Strasse zu ein
wenig vor, wobei die Fenster, mit ihren zahlreichen kleinen Scheibequadraten, fast die ganze Breite der Front einnehmen und nur durch schmale Leisten von einander getrennt sind... Da und dort ist in ein nach der Strasse abfallendes Dach ein kleiner Giebel mit einer erkerartigen Bodengemach eingesetzt ... An den Mauern fast keine Spur von Ornament; die Fenster meist ohne umrahmende Gesimse, kahle viereckige Öffnungen, mitunter statt der Glasscheiben nur von Bretterladen geschlossen; die Giebel hoch und spitz, an den Rändern stufenartig ausgezackt, ohne jeden weiteren Zierrath. Ein, man möchte sagen, finster cyclopischer Eindruck, den das Ganze macht.

(ibid., 407)

**Glasgow**

No other town received as much attention from the German visitors as Edinburgh, where history, romance and beauty were seen to converge so uniquely. This does not mean, however, that the architecture of the rest of Scotland was ignored and many individual buildings, bridges and monuments, especially in Glasgow, also received attention. Spiker was to give one of the earliest, and fullest, accounts of Glasgow and its architecture. He gives detailed descriptions of three of Stark's works, the Hunterian Museum, the Lunatic Asylum and the New Jail, which he considered


(Spiker, 281f.)

Spiker also draws attention to Glasgow Cathedral, as one of the finest buildings of its kind in Scotland, an outstanding example of Gothic architecture. Like many of his successors, however, he was to be disappointed by its divided interior (ibid., 289f.). In describing the South bank of the Clyde, which he considered to be greatly enhanced by the buildings of Carlton Place, with its front of forty-one windows...
and central columned portico, he mentions two other churches:

Nur durch eine Querstrasse von diesen geschieden, ist die schöne neue Kirche von Gorbals, welche im Jahre 1810 nach dem Plane des Architekten Dave Hamilton erbaut wurde, ein längliches Viereck bildet und mit einem hohen Thurm versehen ist.*


(ibid., 300)

This latter church was the new Catholic cathedral. Spiker's reaction to it can be sharply contrasted with Kohl's remarks of twenty-six years later.32

Meidinger's account of Glasgow is detailed and statistical. His introductory paragraph to the city gives an overall impression shared by those of his compatriots who took time to visit Glasgow properly:

Glasgow ... ist eine schöne neue Stadt, mit breiten, regelmässigen, gasbeleuchteten Strassen und Plätzen (Squares) im englischen Geschmack. ... Die schönste Strasse ist die lange Argyll Street, und angrenzende Trongate, mit breiten Fusswegen (trottoire) mitten in der Stadt gelegen. Hier ist die Börse und der Mittelpunkt des Handels. An schönen Sonntagen wimmelt es von geputzten Menschen, gleich wie in den Strassen Londons. Im Ganzen ist Glasgow grösser und bevölkerter als Edinburgh, hat aber nicht das Anziehende und Grossartige, weder in der Lage noch in der Menschenwelt.

(Meidinger, Reisen, 95)

Even Meidinger had to admit to a feature of Glasgow which struck most visitors. He continues:

Als Fabrik- und Handelsplatz sind die Strassen auch nicht so reinlich wie dort. Viele der schönsten Häuser sieht man oft, nicht bloß von aussen, sondern auch im Innern, mit Staub und Schmutz bedeckt. Dies ist jedoch in den entfernteren neuen Quartiren der reichen Kaufleute nicht der Fall, denn hier findet man durchgängig Geschmack und Reinlichkeit vorherrschend ... (ibid)
To others the pollution was pervasive. While Otto was to acknowledge certain fine buildings and streets (although, unlike Maidinger, he did not find Argyle Street noteworthy), his main impressions was that: "Uber der Stadt ruhet immer ein dicker Kohlendampf ... Alle Häuser, obgleich von Sandsteinen erbaut, haben eine dunkelgraue Farbe" (Otto, 334). The following decade, in 1839, Hallberg was to write:


(Hallberg-Broich, 63)

Hallberg loved to elaborate and exaggerate, but there was no doubt that this aspect of Glasgow prevented enjoyment of a visit for many. Ten years earlier Schinkel had also been confronted by the smoke and dirt. Yet despite Glasgow's recent rise to importance, which had left many streets still in a wretched and primitive state, Schinkel seemed more at home in Glasgow than in Edinburgh: "Durch die neuen Strassen, in welchen der Architekurstyl der Wohnhäuser weit reiner ist, als in Edinburgh, gehen die schönsten und breitesten Trottoirs hindurch" (Schinkel, iii, 97). Nonetheless he was happy to call both cities "Prachtstädte", although in each there were crass contrasts between old and new, rich and poor (ibid., ii, 161). Architecturally the bridges over the Clyde (then two in number) impressed both Schinkel and Löwenthal. The latter was as admiring of the well-preserved state of the Roman bridge as he was of the newly built bridge (Löwenthal, 88). The bridge was to be admired by Rollstab thirty years later, but once more Glasgow's industrial nature was felt to jar on the senses:

Der Hafen ist imposant, der Quai, die Brücke über den Clyde prächtig, der Fluss stolz; die Ufer und Gebäude drüben, die bedeutend ansteigen, vollenden das stattliche reiche Bild. Eben so wohlhabend, solide im Bau sehen die Strassen aus, die vom Quai senkrecht abwärts, in langen Linien die Stadt durchziehen. Nur dass sämtliche Gebäude grau sind, und jede Perspektive sich im grauen Nebel verliert.

(Rollstab, ii, 89)
The very reason for Glasgow's existence precludes true beauty: "Es gibt fast nur Fabrikgebäude und die Wohnhäuser derer, denen dieselben gehören, und derer die darin arbeiten!" (ibid.).

There was one piece of architecture which attracted considerable attention, however, and that was the Cathedral. In Rellstab's case this was as a result of Scott's description of the church in Rob Roy and he devotes eight pages to it (ibid., ii, 91ff.). Although he acknowledges the "Ernst", "Würde" and "Schönheit" of the building (ibid., 98), he takes less interest in its architectural style than Löwenthal had done in his one-page account. To the Catholic, Löwenthal, it was "die ehemalige Kathedrale", and, like St. Giles, it had been sacrilegiously defaced by the Reformation: formerly the church must have been reminiscent of "die ehrwürdigen altdeutschen Gottestempel":

Doch, wie hat Vandalismus hier gewirtschaftet!! Das Haupt-Portal ist keines mehr, sondern der innere Raum durch Gemäuer zugerundet; endlich sind in den beiden Kirchen, welche man aus der einen zu schneiden wusste, die Abseiten mit ihren erhabenen Wölbungen verschwunden und in der Hälfte ihrer Höhe unterwölbt, um die hässlichen Gallerien zu tragen, welche dem englischen Gottesdienste unerlässlich scheinen; kurz, seit der Reformation ist mit diesem alterthümlichen Bau ein ... heilloses Wesen getrieben worden.

(Löwenthal, 89) 33

Most of the German visitors were Protestants and did not consider regarding the church buildings in such a light. For the majority of those who visited the Cathedral its setting and the nearby Necropolis were its most notable attributes.

Kohl and Kalckstein were both taken with the beauty of the Necropolis, but, like Rellstab, their attention was drawn to a modern piece of architecture,

allgekannt unter dem Namen "The great Chimney" der das Hauptwunder der schottischen Fabrikstadt ist, da er beinahe den Strassburger Münster um den alten Ruhm gebracht hatte in ganz Europa die Nase am höchsten zu tragen. Nur etwa dreissig oder vierzig Fuss, braucht der Glasgower Schornstein noch zu wachsen, und es ist aus mit dem Münsterruhm!

(Rellstab, ii, 91)

In 1842 Kohl was to call the chimney "in seiner Art ein wahres Wunderwerk" (Kohl, i, 10), while Kalckstein, ten years later, was to be so impressed by the huge dimensions of Tenants factory buildings, the
chimney included, that he writes:

So gründet sich der in einem so grossartigen Maaßstabe schaffende Unternehmungsgeist selbst sein Denkmal; ebenso imponirend und machtvol ll wie die Monumente welche die Nationen ihren Feldherrn und Staatsmännern setzen.  
(Kalckstein, 240)

In the face of such modern architectural achievements, Glasgow's other new buildings seemed unremarkable to Kalckstein. Certain buildings deserved admiration as works of art, especially the Exchange, on which many of the visitors comment, but Kalckstein's opinion of the West End is indicative of the overall reaction to Glasgow's architecture: "Aeusserst regelmässig, aber bis zur Ermüdung einförmig" (ibid., 243).

Instead of appraising the architecture, Kohl wonders why many of the British cities and towns should have built their grandest residential areas in the "West Ends". He suggests that since the prevailing wind in Britain comes from the West, the West End of town will have the purest, pollution-free air. However beautiful the sandstone of many of Edinburgh's and Glasgow's new buildings, it had faults which Kohl was quick to point out: the stone contains much iron which does not weather well and is also soft enough in places to crumble (Kohl, i, 33f.). Finally he notes that Glasgow as a city is yet young, and, like Dublin, Berlin and Petersburg, it has grown in the space of one century from insignificance to considerable importance. Inevitably this has affected the manner of building (ibid., 22). In 1857 Ullrich freely admitted that he felt oppressed by the industrial presence in Glasgow. The buildings, though grand in style, seem gloomy and dirty, and too uniform:

Einen eigenthümlichen Eindruck macht es, dass die Aufschriften der Firmen sämmtlich aus vergoldeten Buchstaben bestehen, die sich zwar sehr kräftig und elegant von dem dunklen Grunde des Baustaines abheben, aber durch ihre Gleichförmigkeit ebenfalls nur die Monotonie des Anblicks verstärken.  
(Ullrich, 328)

It was Lewald who expressed in words the typical and honest reaction to Glasgow. She had admired much in the city, especially the shops, but it could not compete with Edinburgh:

Die neuen Theile Glasgow’s ahmen das Westende London’s nach, die alten sind den antiken Theilen Edinburg’s ähnlich, die Stadt im Ganzen, nach
deutschen Begriffen, noch sehr gross, prächtig und schön. Aber was ist gross neben London und schön neben Edinburg, wenn man die beiden Orte eben verlassen hat? (Lewald, ii, 486)

The rest of Scotland

Edinburgh and Glasgow were naturally not the only sites of architectural interest in Scotland, but by and large the other towns on the tourist route were visited on account of their historical interest and any architectural aspect took second place. Nemnich and Meidinger describe towns and villages and outstanding public buildings throughout the country, but otherwise comments are restricted to Stirling, Perth, Inverness, Aberdeen, and stately homes such as Taymouth Castle and Hamilton Palace. The truly historic buildings made little impression on account of their architecture. Schopenhauer, for instance, writes of Scone Palace as

heut zu Tage eine Art Rattennest, eher einer alten Scheune, als einem Palast ähnlich. ... Eine lange, schmale, düstere Galerie diente dem schottischen Parlamente zum Versammlungsorte; wenn man sie sieht, wird es schwer, an ihre ehemalige grosse Bestimmung zu glauben, so unscheinbar ist sie. An der gewölbten, mit Holz bekleideten Decke bemerkt man Spuren ehemaliger Malerei, die auch in ihrem glänzendsten Zustande sehr unbedeutend gewesen seyn muss.

(Schopenhauer, 303ff.)

Similarly, to 19th Century taste, King James Palace in Stirling Castle was quite without architectural worth. Kohl was one of the few to admit to any historical interest in the style:

Der Palast James' V., ist ein Muster von Geschmacklosigkeit, was bei einem Königspalaste als eine Seltenheit anzumerken ist. Es ist unbegreiflich, wie an einem königlichen Hofe, besonders an einem solchen, wo eine französische Prinzessin Königin wurde, ein so schlechter Geschmack herrschte, dass daraus solche abscheuliche mythologische Figuren hervorgingen, wie sie auf der Mauer dieses Palastes aufgestellt sind. Es ist aber recht, dass man diese fratzen nicht zerstört, denn als ein Specimen der Geschichte des Geschmacks sind auch sie interessant. Freilich aber - hätten die zerstörungs- süchtigen Reformatoren, die nach Jacob V. kamen, statt
Carus was to call the same building "das wunderlichste, abtrüneste Bauwerk, welches man sehen kann" (Carus, ii, 275). Carus' taste was fairly typical. He was attracted by the newly built spa at Bridge of Allan (ibid., 274), but could find no words of praise for Inverness: "...die Stadt sieht eigenthümlich schottisch aus. Graue kleine Häuser, die Giebel öfters nach der Strasse gekehrt, die Kirchen mehr mit spitzen Thürmen, die eigene englische Eleganz der Strassen fehlend"

It seemed that "die eigene englische Eleganz" was either Classical or Gothic in style. Many comment on Gothic churches throughout the country, both modern and old. Hallberg found no attraction in the Classical, but felt drawn to the Gothic. His description of Aberdeen makes this clear:


Although Hallberg's distaste for the Classical revival in architecture did not appear to be shared by his compatriots, the admiration
for Gothic styles was common to all the visitors. Some gave detailed
descriptions of the original Gothic churches, others praised the many
modern works, but the above passage is also interesting as an account
of a town other than Edinburgh or Glasgow; there are few other accounts
of Aberdeen. Maidinger had been much impressed with the new parts of
Aberdeen in the 1820's and had described many of the buildings and streets
favourably (Maidinger, Reisen, 58ff.), but it was not until Brandes' visit of 1850 that another German recorded his impressions of the town.
He saw it as "eine der Glanzstädte des schottischen Landes",

...und in der Mitte die ausserordentlich breite
prächtige Strasse Union Street mit grossen Platten-
wegen an den Seiten und mit herrlichen palastartigen
Gebäuden. Zu Nacht, als die reichen Läden der
Kaufleute in den strahlenden Lichtern erglänzten,
und die Laternen hell Alles erlauchteten, entfaltete
sich hier ... ein Gewoge von lustwandelnden Menschen,
wie in den Hauptstassen Londons, viel grossartiger,
als ich es in Edinburg sah.

(brandes, 54)

In this respect Brandes' account possessed an element of novelty, for
very few Germans had reached Aberdeen. Shortly before he had compared
Nairn, Forres and Elgin with his home town of Lemgo; their buildings
were, however, finer than Lemgo's, yet at the same time there were
many houses in those towns still with thatched roofs (ibid., 53).
Thirty years before, Maidinger had been taken aback by the number of
thatched roofs and meagre dwellings in St. Andrews: "St. Andrews ...
hat beim ersten Anblick etwas höchst unansehnliches, ödes und melan-
cholisches" (Maidinger, Reisen, 43). It seemed more like a village
than an historic town, with grass growing on its three main streets,
which, even though long and broad, were devoid of life. Finally,
Ziegler was to give a vivid impression of the buildings of the Northern
Isles. He gives an enthusiastic description of St. Magnus Cathedral
in Kirkwall. It is historic and well preserved,

und unbestreitig das herrlichste Monument aus der
Zeit der norwegischen Herrschaft, das in Schott-
land zu finden ist ... sicher ist sie eine der
ältesten und schönsten in Schottland und nach dem
Dom in Drontheim und der St. Mungös-Kirche in
Glasgow einer der markwürdigsten des ganzen nörd-
lichen Europas. (Ziegler, Reise, 196f.)
Ziegler's account shows him to be genuinely interested in the architectural style both for its own sake and its historic significance. He displays similar interest in describing Kirkwall's houses:


(ibid., 196)

Passages such as these confirm that Ziegler's account has much in common with Kohl's. Both were professional travel writers, but also professional travellers, recording the results of fact-finding expeditions. They had travelled widely and were able to write comparatively to great effect.

It was Kohl's knowledge of other European lands which led him to reflect more seriously on modern trends in architecture. He was perceptive enough to realise that the architecture which he and his compatriots so admired in Scotland was European rather than Scottish, or, as Carus had termed it, that possessing "die eigene englische Eleganz". Nonetheless the Scottish architects had achieved undeniable greatness within the field of modern architecture. Yet Kohl could not avoid seeing the Classical and Gothic revivals as indication of a lack of originality. In Glasgow he tried to visit the Cathedral, which he considered both the oldest and most interesting of that city's buildings. He was particularly anxious to see the crypt, which he had heard was the most beautiful in all Britain. The Cathedral, however, was closed to all visitors, while restoration and repairs were being carried out. This prompted Kohl to reflect that his extensive travels had shown him that the "gothischer Wiederherstellungsgeist" and the "greichischer Nachahmungsgeist" were rife all over Europe. On the one hand the Gothic churches were being restored, so that "nach 10 Jahren etwa wird das gotische Europa mitten unter uns wieder dastehen, wie es
im 14ten und 15ten Jahrhundert dastand" (Kohl, i, 20). On the other hand the Classical Revival was making itself felt in public buildings throughout Europe, from the Berlin Museum to the Munich Glyptothek, and from the Exchanges in Petersburg and Paris to those throughout Britain. Of the Glasgow Exchange he writes: "[sie] setzt durch ihren ausserordentlichen Säulenreichthum am meisten in Staunen. In dieser Beziehung ist sie noch griechischer als die griechischen Gebäude selbst" (ibid., 21). To Kohl this predilection for Gothic and Classical styles was not a Scottish phenomenon, but a European trend. He asks whether the 18th and 19th Centuries would go down in history as having been unable to create any original architecture, and even wonders whether architecture had perhaps reached a dead end, from which nothing new could emerge. He concludes:

Es ist wirklich sonderbar, dass man keinen unserer Architekten mit so grosser Imagination begabt finden wird, dass man ihm die Aufgabe stellen könnte, einmal ein Gebäude in einem durchaus neuen, aber nichts destoweniger schönen und classicischen Style aufzuführen. (ibid., 21f.)

iii.

Fontane and Architecture

As Hans-Heinrich Reuter points out, Fontane was genuinely interested in all branches of the creative arts except music. This is revealed as much in the conversation and discussions in his narrative work as in his journalistic reports and personal correspondence. As far as senseit des Tweed goes, however, this interest takes a secondary place. Art and architecture only really concern Fontane in relation to Scotland's history. In the chapter "Johnstone Hotel. Erster Gang in die Stadt" Fontane pays but fleeting attention to the architecture of the New Town, "mit ihrer Fülle nobler und moderner Bauten" (Fontane, 13), and only touches on the familiar subject of the contrast between the Old and the New as an introduction to his enthusiastic account of the Old. Similarly, in the chapter, "Holyrood-Palace", he writes of the newly laid railway line, not in terms of modern engineering, but from the point of view of the church which was demolished to make way for it. There is no little irony in the comment, "Die Schiene brauchte Platz, der schottische Unternehmungsgeist war stärker als die schottische Kirchlichkeit"
und binnen Kurzem war der alte Bau ein Trümmerhaufen" (ibid., 18).
As for the palace itself, it was the overall effect which interested him: "das Ganze ohne Styl, ohne Schönheit, ohne Stattlichkeit, aber doch nicht geradezu hässlich und unverkennbar mit jenen Zügen aus-gestattet, die eine Physiognomie interessant machen " (ibid., 19).
The one chapter in which Fontane shows more than a passing interest in building style is "Von Holyrood bis Edinburg-Castle". Yet even here the description of the buildings is given as background to historical anecdotes rather than out of artistic interest. Fontane does not give a detailed account as others had done and instead describes the effect as a whole. He describes the three churches of the Royal Mile, for instance, as "die drei Kirchen, die den Weg von Canongate bis Edinburg-Castle in drei fast gleiche Theile theilen und, ohne selbst besonders schön zu sein, nicht wenig zu dem malerischen Effekt der ganzen Strasse beitragen" (ibid., 39f.). Earlier in the chapter, in a footnote regarding the restoration work in the Beauchamp Tower in the Tower of London, Fontane had bemoaned the fact that renovation, while admirable in principle, removed the vital external evidence of history: "Man hat die historische Patina hinweggeputzt, ohne welche diese Dinge aufhören, sie selbst zu sein" (ibid., footnote, 39). The area around St. Giles is to him "der schönste und historisch-berühmteste Theil von High-Street" (ibid., 40), and it is as if the latter is a condition of the former.
Fontane was fascinated by the old houses. Like many of his predecessors, he stresses the dirt, decay and poverty, but while the houses of the Canongate had looked like the neglected summer residences of the nobility of former times, those of the High Street had an air of importance: "wirkliche Schlösser; hoch, fast, imposant" (ibid., 41). He continues:

Diesen Charakter des Schlossartigen hat die Strasse in so hohem Maasse, dass die stattlichen Neubauten ..., die man hier und dort zu beiden Seiten der Strasse aufgeführt hat, nicht im Stande gewesen sind, den imponirenden Eindruck des Ganzen zu steiger-ern, gegentheils. ...
Die einzelnen Häuser, selbst die besten, zu beschreiben ist nicht möglich. Was über sie zu sagen ist, das ist gesagt. Eines gleich dem andern. Grau, steinern, schmucklos, steigen sie in die Luft, unmalerisch einzeln, aber pittoresk als Ganzes und immer wirksam durch Masse und Proportion. (ibid.)
He goes on to give his account of the notorious closes. He does not overlook the lack of hygiene - wondering if the washing ever dries - but he prefers to remember those houses with narrow strips of garden and rose bushes: "Neben manchem blos Pikanten bietet sich auch Malerisches und durch Reiz und Schönheit Fesselndes dar" (ibid., 43). It is almost with disappointment that Fontane reports that the buildings around Parliament Square are either new or seem so as a result of recent repairs. He does not wish to belittle this work, or the grandeur of the new architecture, but he himself cannot feel enthusiastic and wishes that for half an hour the street might be returned to its original state: "Da war alles aus einem Guss; eckig, winklich, verbaut, aber malerisch" (ibid., 46f.) While he acknowledges the new, Fontane prefers to dwell on the old. Accordingly, faced with the prospect of viewing the Assembly Hall, he chooses to focus his attention on Allan Ramsay's house, "anstatt den kahlen Wänden einer neugebauten schottischen Kirche einen blossen Anstandsbesuch zu machen" (ibid., 48). The same pattern is evident in Fontane's reaction to Perth. Perth was known to him in song as being both old and fair; he disputes the latter but affirms the former, and in doing so writes of the "charakterlose Dürftigkeit" (ibid., 198) of Perth's houses as he first saw them on the Sabbath, and eagerly moves on to recounting the events of the Cowrie Plot. To Fontane the style and state of a building reflected contemporary tastes and events. As such he dismisses the modern and concentrates on the old, not from an aesthetic but from an historical point of view.
a) **English and Scots**


(Hailbronner, i, 95)

It goes without saying that British travel was more rewarding to those with a good knowledge of English. To varying degrees this was true throughout the country, yet in Scotland, rather than distancing the German travellers from the Scots, language frequently drew them closer together. The common properties of the Scottish and Germanic dialects were apparent to many, and Gaelic, while it often presented a frustrating communication barrier, remained nevertheless a tangible link with the world of Ossian.

The degree of fluency in English amongst the German visitors varied. Köstlin, who had had to abandon his plan to study the language for some weeks in Stuttgart before his Scottish visit, was to regret this greatly once he had reached Edinburgh (Köstlin, 115f. & 119), while Rellstab was also to admit freely to his ineptitude. Having ordered his first meal in English at the Victoria Hotel in Galashiels, he writes of the laughter which greeted his queries: "denn ich führte sowohl absichtlich als unwillkürlich immer einen Lustspiel-Dialog mit den Leuten des Landes durch, und persiflirte mein Nichtverstehen zuerst selbst; dann waren wir stets die besten Freunde" (Rellstab, i, 289). In this instance a bottle of porter, a mutton chop and Cheshire cheese duly arrived. With many people Rellstab was to find French the easiest means of communication, for instance when conversing with a young Scots painter (ibid., ii, 84) and a young couple in the train from Glasgow:

Es verritt sich natürlich mit dem ersten Wort, dass ich ein Fremder sei; nachdem ich einige
On this occasion the lady in question was too shy to speak in French, and so they reached a compromise: Rellstab addressed her in French and she replied in English. A few years later Moltke was to meet with none of this diffidence amongst the ladies at Balmoral. Having accompanied them on a walk, they shook hands on parting, the initiative coming from the ladies themselves. Moltke comments: "Ziererei ist hier nicht Mode. Sie lachen über ihr schauderhaftes Französisch. 'Ce serait une impertinence de vous parler Anglais.' 'Do, never mind!' 'You know nobody?' 'No, but I do not feel a stranger here.'" (Moltke, 302). If the ladies of the court had poor French, however, the Royal Family spoke fluent German and conversation that evening was carried out in German by all the Royals except the Duchess of Kent, who spoke English with her daughter. Otherwise the assembled company spoke a mixture of French and English.

Knowledge of German in Scotland was unusual but not unknown. Many of the expatriate Germans in Britain, both temporary and permanent residents, earned or supplemented their income by teaching their native language. Fontane would never have met Dr. James Morris had he not advertised his services as a German teacher in London, and Wichmann was to finance his stay in Scotland by teaching through the winter in Musselburgh. Many of the expatriates had developed a lingua franca of their own, a mixture of German and English which was ungrammatical but convenient. The veteran German soldier who acted as Rellstab's guide in Edinburgh spoke in such a manner: "'Wenn Sie lieben' sagt mein alter braver Deutscher in englischen Deutsch, 'so steigen wir jetzt diesen Weg hinan ...'" (Rellstab, i, 219). In Luss Brandes was to meet a young Swedish engineer, who addressed him in German, and this caused him to note the effect that living in Britain can have on
a foreigner's language. He was amused that the Swede addressed him as "Ihr", and imagined that this came from the English "You" (Brandes, 28). Fifty years earlier Nemnich had expressed no surprise that Germans in Britain learned little when confronted with phrases such as "Sparen Sie Ihre Augen", "Stoppen Sie ein wenig", "Lassen Sie uns den Weg krossen" or "Finden Sie Vergnügen, in der Kutsche zu reiten?" (Nemnich, 1799, 451). He reports, too, that while there were two German printers in London, there were only two German grammars, both inadequate, (ibid., 460), a situation which had changed little by his later visit: "Die armen englischen Damen, die in den deutschen Romanton so verliebt sind, dass sie auch im Besitz der Sprache seyn möchten, haben keine deutsche Grammatik" (Nemnich, 169). By the 1820's, when Meidinger visited Edinburgh, he could report that Sir William Hamilton, whom he met personally and who had spent many years in Göttingen, was trying hard to introduce German language and literature to Scotland, but had come up against fierce prejudice amongst his fellow Scots (Meidinger, Briefe, 128). Nonetheless some Scots, such as Mr. Robert Jamieson junr., who conducted Nemnich round Edinburgh (Nemnich, 500ff.), did have German, whether they had learnt it at home or abroad. The boat-party with whom Brandes visited the Falls of Foyers included six ladies accompanying General Gough. They were caught in a downpour and Brandes was surprised to find one of the ladies apologising to him in German for the weather:

Ganz unerwartet knüpfte also eine...[der Lady's]... in deutscher Rede ein Gespräch mit mir an und redete so geläufig und korrekt, dass ich nicht unterlassen konnte, ihr meine Bewunderung zu erkennen zu geben, worauf sie dann erwiderte, sie habe eine deutsche Institutrice - dies Wort gebrauchte sie - gehabt und sey auch in Deutschland, namentlich längere Zeit in Wiesbaden gewesen; Deutsch zu reden mache ihr viel Vergnügen. (Brandes, 50f.)

Fluency in English did not necessarily go hand in hand with the ability to understand, or even appreciate, Scottish dialect. For those who were aware of language, however, the subject gained added interest on account of the common roots shared by Scots and German. In his earlier work of 1799 Nemnich had drawn up a "Verzeichniss einiger vollkommen deutschen Wörter in den nördlichen Theilen von England". He
lists dialect parallels between English, Yorkshire, Scots, Danish and German words (Nemnich, 1799, 495). On his later visit Nemnich was to appreciate the significance to language of the Continental extraction of some of the East coast fishing communities, notably Buckhaven, where the people had retained foreign idioms and a special accent (Nemnich, 567f.). Later he notes that the people of Shetland spoke Dutch as well as they did English on account of their trade with Holland (ibid., 725). Some fifteen years later Meidinger was to report that English was spoken almost throughout the Northern Isles, since that which he terms "das Normännische" had virtually died out (Meidinger, Reisen, 76), while Ziegler's report from the 1850's confirms that Norse influences were still very much in evidence in both Orkney and Shetland. Of the former he writes:

Es ist Übrigens keine so leichte Aufgabe, in den sprachlichen Erörterungen deutsche und skandinavische Eigenheit zu unterscheiden und das allgemein germanische nicht mit dem Dänischen oder Jütlandischen zu verwechseln. (Ziegler, Reise, 199)

From Shetland he writes that not only were many place names Norwegian in derivation but that the islanders spoke English with a Norwegian accent (ibid., 298). Hallberg-Broich had also shown himself to be aware of the Scandinavian derivation of some of the Scottish dialects. Writing of Inverness, he says:

Die Hauptsprache des Volks ist gaelisch, worin sie auch in der Kirche die Predigt halten; dann haben sie noch einen skandinavischen Dialekt mit englischer, sächsischer und irischer Mischung. Man kann sich einen Begriff dieser Sprachen aus den verschiedenen Vater unser machen, die ich aus Kirchenbüchern abgeschrieben habe. 1. Nor Fader Qühilk beast i Heven. 2. Hallowit weird thyne nam. 3. Cum thyne Kingrik. 4. Be dune thyne wull as is i Hevin ava po yard. 5. Nor dailic braid gif us thilk day. 6. And forleit us nor skaiths, as we forleit tham quha skaiths us. 7. And lead us na intil temptation. 8. Butan fre us fra evil. Amen. (Hallberg-Broich, 72f.)

He gives two other versions, one from Orkney, with its visible Norwegian influence, and the other in the Irish-related Gaelic of the Highlands. At the same time Hallberg took pleasure in ridiculing the importance attached in Britain to titles. This is ironical considering his parti-
cular insistence on his own titles and honours, but it may be seen as yet another indication of his eccentricity. There is, he maintains, nothing romantic in the Danish derivation of the word "lord". It had been introduced in the year 827 when the Danes had plundered the country, as "lorddane" or "lurdane", and "dieser schimpfliche Spott-Name wurde endlich der Ehrentitel für eben solche müßige Menschen" (ibid., 43).

Holzenthal had made the language situation quite clear during his stay in the Borders in 1812-14. He reports first, that although the language differs little from that spoken in England, it is marked by its own construction and vocabulary; second, that there are often closer links between Scots and German than between Scots and English; third, that while a Scot can understand English, since it is the language of the Church and of official publications, an Englishman cannot necessarily understand Scots; and fourth, that the Highlanders' language is a Celtic dialect and quite unrelated to Lowland Scots (Holzenthal, 214f.). These basic facts were not always grasped by his fellow countrymen, many of whom failed to appreciate that Scots was a language in its own right.

For those with an ear for language, the difference in accent and intonation was immediately apparent on entering Scotland. To Johanna Schopenhauer and her Anglophile husband the northern dialects were unendearing and incorrect: "Schon nach Newcastle spricht man das Englische sehr fehlerhaft, fast wie plattdeutsch aus" (Schopenhauer, 269). Accustomed to the English of the South, Schopenhauer could become reconciled to the regional accents and dialects: "Das wunderliche allgemeine Schnarren, womit sie den Buchstaben R aussprechen, und die vielen ganz unbekannten Provinzialausdrücke, welche sie einmischen, machten, dass wir Mühe hatten, sie zu verstehen" (ibid.). In some ways her reaction is surprising, since she had been brought up to speak English, taught by the Scots minister of the English-speaking congregation in Danzig, Dr. Jamieson, who one would expect to have retained much of his native Edinburgh in his speech. The educated Scots speech was a pleasure to Meissner, as a pronounced Scotophile who was to marry a Scot. As he travelled on the packetboat from Holland in 1817, he noted that each of his fellow passengers, seafarers, English Jews and Americans, all from the lower classes, had his own brand of English. Meissner himself was in no doubt as to which English he found the most
pleasing:

Ist die Hauptstadt der erste Ort, den der Fremde zu seinem Aufenthalt wählt, so hat er die ersten Wochen gar manche Mühe, sich an das den Londonern ganz eigenthümliche schnelle und abgeknippte Sprechen zu gewöhnen, und er findet eine wahre Abepannung darin, zuweilen mit einem gebildeten Schotten zu reden, dessen bestimmtere und rundere Aussprache dem Ausländer weit befreundeter ist.

(Meissner, 86f.)

But for a traveller who had accustomed himself to the sounds, in particular the diphthongs, of southern English, the Scottish pronunciation could present a considerable communication barrier. On arriving in Glasgow, Brandes wanted to take up an invitation from an acquaintance in Queen Street:

Es wurde mir schwer, Mr. Mac Cubbin aufzufinden, denn Niemand wusste mir Queen Street zu zeigen, und selbst der von mir befragte Policeman that, als wenn eine Strasse des Namens nicht in Glasgow wäre, und meinte es müsste Green Street seyn, bis ich ihm die Karte gab und sich das Dunkel aufklärte. Er. sprach nämlich das Wort Queen, das ich gedehnt ausgesprochen, so kurz wie Quinn aus und hatte mich darum nicht verstanden. (Brandes, 21f.)

Brandes comments on many words which seem, according to the Scottish pronunciation, phonetically illogical to a German, for instance "Leven":

Der Name wurde von Einigen Liwein, von Andern Lewin ausgesprochen. Ein Schotte vertheidigte die erstere Aussprache damit, dass des e ja ein i say, aas aber kein Grund seyn kann, da das a häufig genug ein a und kein i ist.

(ibid., 25 footnote)

As a meticulous schoolmaster, he was at pains to ascertain all such facts. He found word stress particularly disconcerting, expressing surprise at the stress on the last syllable of the names Dundee ("das Wort lautet Döndï") and Inverness (ibid., 54 & 42). He was to face the same problem with the word "horizon". Among the passengers on the boat to Staffa was an old sea-captain from Edinburgh, who was accompanied by his two daughters:

Unter den Töchtern war die eine viel hübscher als die andere, nicht wie eine Engländerin, sondern wie ein blondes deutsches Mädchen. Als ich einmal in meinem Reisebuche lesend neben ihr saß und mir das Wort Horizon vorkam, fragte ich sie, ob man Hörizon,
It was with great relief that Brandes discovered that the Scots long "a" was as he considered it should be, namely like the German vowel sound rather than the English. Thus the River Avon is pronounced "Avon" and not "Även", and Hamilton is pronounced as it is spelt rather than in the English manner as "Hämilen" (ibid., 13). Spelling however, was no real guideline; Brandes was left utterly puzzled as to why Loch Awe should be pronounced "Oh", or Argyll, "Argyll" (ibid., 30).

As a classical scholar, who, after having listened to a lengthy sermon in Oban, had proclaimed, "die englische Sprache klang mir in der ernsten Rede bei weitem nicht so schön wie unsere deutsche" (ibid., 31), Brandes was shocked at the anglicisation of Greek and Latin. Conversing with a young fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, whom he met in Oban, Brandes was gratified to learn of the use of the German Classical grammars in Britain. Both he and the young man were to express mutual dismay at the other's pronunciation of Greek, but while Brandes detected little of "die schön tönende Sprache von Hellas" in the young scholar's Greek, his own recitation of lines from Sophocles' Antigone apparently prompted admiration from his companion (ibid., 33).

To Wichmann the Scottish pronunciation was in itself an indication of the linguistic links between Scotland and Germany. The fact that the Scottish "ch" sound is frequently as pronounced as in German means that it is easier for a Scot than an Englishman to pronounce and learn German (Wichmann, 85). Wichmann joins Brandes in being interested not only in pronunciation but also in meaning, especially of place names. Indeed many of the travellers comment on the meaning of such words as "law" and recurrent prefixes or suffixes such as "aber" or "dun". It is no surprise that Kohl should go into such matters in greater detail. He appreciated, for instance, the difficulty facing a foreigner confronted by two Scots words of essentially the same meaning, the one being Gaelic and the other Anglo-Saxon in derivation. Thus "glen" and
"strath" are Gaelic, while "carse" is Old Scots and "valley" English; "hill" is English, "law" Scots and "ben" Gaelic. Although no Scot had been able to give him an exact definition of the differences between "strath" and "glen", "carse" and "polder", Kohl attempts his own explanation (Kohl, i, 146f.), as he does with the words "ben" and "hill". But despite his attempts, the peculiarities of Scottish usage were to confront him once more: in Scotland a "hill" is by no means always lower than a "ben". He continues:


Such comments show that Kohl did indeed acquire his information from first-hand observation; although he sometimes tends towards pedantry, his findings remain well researched.

Others occupy themselves more with the Scots and Germanic linguistic links. Even Lewald, who at no other time shows any particular interest in language, felt bound to mention this aspect, since it partially explained the affinity she felt towards the Scots. She mentions several words which are common to the Scots and Germans but not the English: "kirk für Kirche - besom für Besen - cram für Laden - fletcher für Fleischer, und andere mehr" (Lewald, ii, 274). Wichmann, too, was to provide such a list: "Kirk, Kirche; carl, Kerl; kale, Kohl; ken, kennen; loch, See (Loch), u. a. m." (Wichmann, 85). Such words underline the ease with which a German can understand the Scots and pronounce their language; moreover, "ein Deutscher wird ... manche Wörter besser aussprechen können als ein Engländer" (ibid.). Förster was to discover from first-hand experience that his German was of more use to him than his English in Scotland. He was received by the
housekeeper of the manse at Buchanan:

Während die gute Alte mich ... herumführte und mir alles zeigte und erklärte, hatte ich Gelegenheit, überraschende Sprachstudien zu machen; denn ich bemerkte, dass in dem schottischen Englisch viele Wörter, die aus Deutschland stammen, hier entweder in der alten Form sich erhalten, oder nach der jetzigen deutschen wieder umgebogen haben. Erst wusste ich gar nicht, wer gemeint sei, als mich meine Wirthin zur "Coo" führen wollte, bis ich vor dem Kuhstall stand und die "Cow" darin sah. Und wenn sie mich dann "on the recht" kommandirte, oder die Rückkehr ihres Herrn auf "this necht" erwartete, musste ich offenbar meine Kenntniss der deutschen Sprache zu Hülfe nehmen, um ihr Schottisch zu verstehen. (Fürster, 324)

When the minister's mother arrived later in the day, communication was no easier, for the old woman, as a native of Sutherland, spoke a dialect which was almost incomprehensible to Förster, who understood only that part of the conversation which he himself contributed and their final "Good nacht".

It was generally agreed that the pure English of Inverness greatly facilitated comprehension. Writing of his Inverness guide, Meissner comments, "Es war dieses ein Mann aus der gemeinen Volksklasse, der aber englisch mit der Reinheit sprach, wie man dieses auffallend zu Inverness findet" (Meissner, 260). Meidinger, who also reports of the pure English spoken in St. Andrews, puts down the cause of the Inverness English to the many English troops who had been stationed in the town (Meidinger, Reisen, 45 & 68). Wichmann looks for the cause in Scandinavia:

Die Sprache der Einwohner von Inverness ist durchschnittlich ausergewöhnlich rein, der Accent, durch welchen sich die schottische Sprache, ganz abgesehen von den vielen, ihr eigenen Wörtern, von der englischen unterscheidet, verschwindet hier gänzlich, und das Englische, von einem gebildeten Bewohner dieser Stadt gesprochen, klingt deutlich, rein und angenehm. Möglicherweise sind auch die starken Ansiedelungen, welche hier schon in früherer Zeit von den Scandiniern Statt fanden, auf diese reine Aussprache nicht ohne Einfluss gewesen sind. (Wichmann, 40)

Kohl, who devotes a whole chapter of his Land und Leute der Britischen Inseln to the English language, its hybrid nature, German and French derivations, pronunciation, slang and many other peculiarities (Kohl, GB, iii, 449ff.), shows himself to be very aware of language throughout his tour of Scotland. His account of an early morning breakfast
conversation with an elderly man in Edinburgh reveals this awareness. The latter had travelled up by boat from Liverpool to Glasgow the previous day and Kohl points to words and phrases used by his companion in describing his voyage which are peculiar to English. Liverpool, for instance, had been "very dull" and on the voyage they had had "a very rough night and a boisterous sea"; both phrases contained adjectives whose meaning was not easily conveyed in German. Furthermore, one had to be familiar with English usage to know that it was the ship which was being referred to simply as "she" (Kohl, ii, 219f.).

Kohl was also to give various examples of international linguistic cross-connections. He notes some colloquialisms as having German rather than English parallels:

"At half two o'clock" - ein Engländer würde bekanntlich sagen: "half past one," während die Schotten, die noch so viele alte sächsische Redewendungen behalten haben, eben so wie wir Deutschen sprechen: "um halb zwei Uhr"...

(ibid., i, 143)

He notes, too, that place names often have hybrid derivations in Scotland. Such an example is Achernden. It is typical of Kohl's thoroughness that he should write of both the Gaelic and English sources and also of a Tiroler parallel:


(ibid., ii, 30f.)

Kohl, the ethnographer, manages to relate his observations on language to the people of Scotland and their way of life. A good example of this is to be found in his account of his visit to Perth:

Auf der Taybrücke äusirierte ich mich nicht wenig, die Gespräche der kleinen schottischen Knaben zu belauschen,
die schon so hübsch schottisch plapperten, wie ihre Eltern es sprechen. "Look, the folke," riefen sie einander zu, "are coming duhn to the brigg ... Yea, yea, look the folke on baith sides o' the Tay" ... Diese ist Alles schottisch und zu gleicher Zeit auch mehr deutsch als die englischen Formen.

At each Scots word he provides the English equivalent in a footnote.

The guide whom Kohl engaged in the town is a black African, called Bob, who has to suffer much ridicule from the Perth children, who pursue him mockingly with such taunts as, "Do you kenn that muckle man, that swart karl? ... do you kenn him?" (ibid., 168). Bob can only retort in his mixture of African and Scots, "Very be' folks, Massal!", at which the children retaliate with "You ocht to kenn better English!" and mocking comments regarding the thickness of the soles of the black man's feet. This proves too much for poor Bob, who, losing his temper, launches into a violent verbal attack on his persecutors which Kohl finds quite impossible to transliterate, "Und um meinen armen Schwarzen, der unter die weissen Buben wie ein grosses Lama unter junge Jaguars gerathen war, zu retten, zog ich mich mit ihm von der Brücke und meinen Dialekt-Beobachtungen zurück" (ibid., 169).

Kohl here takes the opportunity to reflect more seriously on the Scottish dialect. He is alone in stressing a vital aspect of the question, namely the emotional power their native dialect can exert on Scots the world over:

Die Schotten sind in jene ihre antiken schottischen Sprachformen so verliebt, wie bei uns die Oesterreicher in einige ihrer alten Spracheigenschaften, und lieben sie besonders in ihren Dichtungen. Und ein Lied, in dem recht oft "duhn" statt "down", "baith" statt "both", "fecht" statt "fight", "Bauld" statt "bold" (kühn), "wi' me" statt "with me" und dergleichen vorkommt, rührt sie weit mehr als ein anderes, in dem diese Worte alle nach der gewöhnlichen allgemeinen englischen Weise geschrieben stehen, eben so wie unsere Allemannen im Schwarzwalde weit mehr durch ein Hebel'sches Lied im allemannischen Dialekt gerührt werden, als durch irgend eine classische deutsche Dichtung. Ich finde diese auch ganz natürlich; denn wenn man wie jene meine Brückenbuben von Jugend auf so gesprochen hat, so verweben sich mit diesen Dialektbesonderheiten auch so viele Jugenderinnerungen, so viele patriotische Andeutungen, mit einem Worte, es steckt darin ein so grosses Stück der Menschen und des Landes selbst, dass ich es vollkommen natürlich
Fände, wenn ein Schotte, welcher in Ostindien oder Afrika irgendwo jemanden "come duhn" statt "come down" sagen hörte, bloss durch den Ton dieses Wortes zu Thränen gerührt würde. (ibid.)

Kohl is alone, too, in noting that there are many words of French derivation in Scots which do not occur in English. As an example he takes the word "bonny". Having indicated something of the connotations of the adjective and its usage in Scotland — "our bonnie lasses", "bonny Prince Charlie", "our bonny town Perth" (ibid., 170) — he comments on Burns' frequent use of the word in his poetry.

It is evident, however, that Kohl has no doubts as to the most remarkable aspect of the emotional power exerted on the Scots by their native dialect:

Besonders begreift man es gut von den vielen sächsischen Formen, welche sich in der schottischen Sprache finden, weil sich bei ihnen die schottische Volksseele ihres alten deutschen Ursprungs, ihres innigen Zusammenhanges mit der grossen germanischen Mutterseele dunkel bewusst wird. (ibid., 169f.)

b) Gaelic

In general the German visitors showed an ambivalent attitude towards Gaelic. On the one hand they recognised it as a barrier to progress, but on the other they were anxious for this link with a romantic past to be preserved. Even to the prosaic Nennich at the turn of the century Gaelic was quite simply "Ossian's Sprache" (Nennich, 542). Over forty years later Wichmann was also to find this one of the main attractions of the language. While he was staying in Appin, rain frequently kept the house party indoors, but this mattered little:

Da wir einen gelehrten Hochländer in unserer Mitte hatten, und auch manche von uns der gälischen Sprache mehr oder weniger mächtig waren, wurden auch zuweilen einige alte Gedichte von Ossian, Orran, Ullin etc., in der Ursprache vorgetragen, die freilich für ein deutsches Ohr schrecklich klingt, und im Vergleich mit welcher unsere Kehllaute schwächliche Stümper sind, die rein verschwinden, so rauh und hert klingt jene Sprache, obgleich die gebildeten Hochländer sie für eine sehr melodische Sprache halten. (Wichmann, 26)
But the German did not necessarily want Gaelic to sound melodic; it was the language of a wild and uncouth people and was expected to sound accordingly. Wichmann goes on to quote an Ossian poem in Gaelic to show his readers what the language looks like in the original. For the reader who has never seen the language written before,

und falls er sie auch nicht aussprechen könnte, dürfte wohl der Anblick allein fast genügen, zu zeigen, wie lieblich jene Sprache klingen muss. Viele Consonanten werden freilich gar nicht ausgesprochen, dennoch aber liegt sie fast hinten im Halse, und obgleich sie eine ungemein reiche, gebildete Ursprache ist, aus der viele Wörter in manchen Sprachen ihren Ursprung herleiten, wollte mir doch durchaus nicht einleuchten, dass sie sich vor allem durch ihren Wohllaut auszeichnet. (ibid.)

Wichmann even refers his readers to a Gaelic grammar, A Practical Grammar of the Scottish Gaelic in eight parts, by James Munro. It is not clear to what extent Wichmann himself was proficient in the language, but he was genuinely interested in the history of the Celtic language and writes at some length of its form and historical development in Scotland, Ireland, Wales and France (ibid., 17ff.). He points out that the areas which the Romans had not penetrated, for instance Northern Scotland, had retained the original language form. He reports that there were reputed to be six million Gaelic speakers in all, four million in Ireland, one million in the Scottish Highlands, half a million in Wales and the same number in Brittany, but he realises, too, that the emigration of recent years must have lessened these figures considerably in Scotland and Ireland. He goes on to look at the variants of the two main dialects, "der gälische oder gadhelische Zweig" and "der wälische oder cymerische Zweig" (ibid., 18f.).

Thirty years earlier in the 1820's Maidinger had reported that Gaelic was only spoken in the interior of the Highlands and was already dying out in the Western Highlands (Maidinger, Reisen, 68 & 86). The following decade Hailbronner was to observe that the traveller encountered Gaelic as soon as he left the military roads. It was as if he had suddenly entered another foreign land:

er stösst auf die Scheu, welche das Ungewöhnliehe dem rohen Menschen einzuflössen pflegt, allein er findet gute und gastfreundschaftliche Leute, mit denen es einem sehr schwer fällt, sich verständlich zu machen, weshalb auch die Engländer selbst nicht gern ins Innere des Landes dringen.

(Hailbronner, 312f.)
Fifteen years later, Wichmann, walking from Dingwall across the country to Loch Carron, found things unchanged. When he wanted to ask the way of the few people he came across, his questions were no longer understood: "Man war jetzt mitten unter den alten Kelten" (Wichmann, 42).

To such travellers the inability to communicate could cost them a meal or a drink. To Johanna Schopenhauer, however, it was merely a matter of leaving her curiosity unsatisfied. She was particularly frustrated, almost annoyed, not to be able to communicate with an old, Ossian-like bard whom she encountered in Dalmally (Schopenhauer, 328ff.)

There was seldom any attempt made really to penetrate the Gaelic language. Passing remarks such as those made by Spiker in 1816 of Killin and by Ullrich in 1857 of Fort William are typical:

In Killin hörten wir, zum ersten Male, die auf der Strasse spielenden Kinder Gaelisch mit einander reden. Die vielen Gurgeltöne dieser Sprache, welche ungleich härter angeschlagen werden, als die in der unserigen, erinnern auffallend an das Spanische.

(Spiker, 248)

Das Gälische herricht in diesen Distrikten Schottlands, obwohl die Bevölkerung grösstentheils auch des Englischen kundig ist; es klingt völlig fremdartig, etwas breit, reich an Vokalen und an Abwechselung der Laute, ich möchte fast sagen, mit einer Art wilder Euphonia.

(Ullrich, 340)

Others had Gaelic conversations or songs 'performed' for them. On Loch Katrine Meissner's boatman obliged and sang him the first Gaelic song he had heard (Meissner, 241), and in the inn at Banavie a friendly merchant, Mr. Thoms, was to arrange a 'conversation' between two Gaelic speakers for Brandes. Surprisingly, Brandes' conclusion of the language was that "sie klang angenehm, voll und melodisch gleich der italienischen" (Brandes, 48). Most shared Wichmann's opinion that Gaelic, however evocative, was guttural and harsh to the ear. Awareness of the language naturally varied according to the year of the visit and the route taken. In 1803 Schopenhauer found that English speakers were only to be found in the inns of the Highlands, while over fifty years later Ullrich was to report from Oban that although the people spoke Gaelic amongst themselves and English only when required, they were fluent in the latter (Schopenhauer, 330 & Ullrich, 349). As Brandes toured the Highlands, however, a few years before Ullrich, he had noted that English was the language commonly spoken, even for those with the Gaelic.
Clear indication of the German attitude to the language itself comes first from Meissner in 1817 and then from Marx in 1841. The former found the inn at the head of Loch Ness to be the only hostelry he had met with in Scotland where nobody spoke English. He had to settle his bill through sign language. The company of two native Scots, however, could be seen to be a hindrance to Romantic travel:

Wir traten hier ein, um einige Erfrischungen zu nehmen, und fanden drei Menschen bei der Whiskyflasche sitzen, von denen der eine mit vielen Pathos etwas in Gaelischer Sprache recitirte, während die beiden andern sehr aufmerksam zusehen mochten. Auch Ich lauschte in der Hoffnung jeden Augenblick den Nahmen Fingals oder eines andern bekannten Helden zu unterscheiden, denn dass es eine grosse That sey "aus den Tagen die nicht mehr sind," die hier recitirt ward, darüber hatte ich keinen Zweifel. Einer meiner Reisegefährten indessen verstand soviel gaelisch, um mich zu belehren, dass der Sprecher keineswegs ein Rhapode sey, sondern er blies das gratias hersage. Wie manchen Reisenden mag es nicht besser gehen, die ihren Irrthum ganz gemüthlich drucken lassen.

(Meissner, 257f.)

Marx was to display none of this sense of humour when he soberly relates how he could barely communicate with the small Gaelic-speaking boy who acted as his guide to the Falls of Bracklinn:

Früher würde ich beim Ton dieser Sprache gleich in den Ausruf einiger Ossianischen Wehmuthlaute ausgebrochen sein; allein seitdem es sich herausgestellt, dass die bewunderten Lieder von Macpherson herrühren, ist die Begeisterung kühl geworden. Wenn Kindern ein Mährchen erzählt wird, so fragen sie: ist's auch eine wahre Geschichte? lässt man sie dabei, so bleibt ihnen die Fabel eine Art Evangelium; äussert man jedoch ein Bedenken, so ist alles Interesse weg.

(Marx, 28f.)

This passage says more about the nature of Marx's Ossianic 'phase' than he himself might have cared to admit.

Some of the travellers enquired as to the meaning of a Gaelic word or place-name. The local inhabitants and guides had learnt that the foreign tourists would appreciate the meaning of certain place names with Romantic overtones, as for example the "Fraueninsel", Inch Caillieach and, having satisfied an idle curiosity, few of the Germans
cared to enquire further. It is significant that Fontane pays little or no attention to the language of the Highlands, even in his essay, "Das schottische Hochland und seine Bewohner". It is as if Gaelic is only interesting to him in general terms as a reflection of that which does concern him, namely the Highland culture and clan system. Thus he gives the clan names in their Gaelic form, but it is for effect.9 Only twice in the essay does he so much as mention the word "gälisch", and that only in giving the Gaelic forms of St. Columba's name and the meaning of the word "clan" (Fontane, 399 & 402).

The Celtic world fascinated Kohl and he studied it intently. He was as interested to read in Chambers of the early Gaelic missionaries (Kohl, i, 215f.) as he was to find that the schoolmaster in Killin had written the old Celtic place names on his map of Scotland (ibid., ii, 73). Having listed some of these, he comments that many places were still known under both their Gaelic and English (or according to his terminology, "Germanic") names. The clan names, too, were affected by this, although the Campbell clan was now known only by its English name (ibid., 1f.). Earlier he had listed the names of the clans of the Dunkeld district who had recently gathered to see Victoria and Albert and had commented, "Ich möchte wissen, woher es kommt, dass einige Clans germanisch-englische Namen haben" (ibid., i, 217). The later discussions dealt with just that question. If nothing else, this shows that Kohl seldom reworked or revised his writing and explains the longwinded nature of parts of his Reisen in Schottland. Even if pedantic, Kohl was always careful to back up such discussions with convincing examples, although to a modern reader these frequently appear too hypothetical. In making his own observations regarding the Gaelic speakers' pronunciation of the old words "Albin", "Alba" and "Albanach", Kohl surmises that there may be a linguistic connection with the words "Alb" and "Alpen", by which "Albin" would mean "Bergland" (ibid., ii, 73f.). Such hypothesising is fairly typical of Kohl and indicates his desire to record as much as possible without necessarily seeking factual backing for his statements. Nonetheless there is no denying that Kohl had a receptive ear. He even comments on the ways the Gaelic speakers have got round pronouncing the names of their monarchs, "George" as "Seorus", "William" as "Uielleam", and of "Victoria" he
remarks that it is unique, since it is pronounced the same in every dialect (ibid., 74).

Kohl genuinely attempted to learn something of the Gaelic language himself. When he engaged a Gaelic-speaking coachman in Dunkeld, for instance, he used the opportunity to learn some vocabulary, noting in particular the words adopted from the English, such as "puntaht" for "potatoes" and "suchkars" for "sugar" (ibid., i, 220ff.). He gives his own transliteration for these words, adding in footnotes the spelling from Armstrong's dictionary. He himself described the method which he used in gathering such material:

Was mich besonders verwunderte, war, dass nach der Behauptung der Leute, ich habe sonst leider gar keine Autorität dafür, die in den schottischen Niederlanden gebräuchlichen Namen für die Hochländerbekleidung gar nicht gälisch seien. Sie gaben mir folgende gälische Namen für jene Ausdrücke. Ich schreibe sie gerade so, wie die Leute sie aussprechen. Ich beobachtete genau ihre Lippen und liess sie die Worte ein halb Dutzend Mal deutlich pronuntiiiren. Der Plaid, sagten sie, heisse auf Gälisch "Prächk-kan", der Kilt "Fehl", der Tartan aber "Cathe." Ich habe diese Worte jedoch in keinem gälischen Lexicon finden können. (ibid., 222f.)

He also relates an exchange with the coachman which reveals his linguistic awareness:

Sehr interessant war es mir, hier der Heimath des jetzt in der ganzen Welt so berühmten Wortes Punsch auf die Spur zu kommen. Mein Freund behauptete nämlich, dass "Punch" ein gälisches Wort sei. "Believe me, sir!" sagte er, "punch is right out of the bottom of the Gaelic." (Glauben Sie mir, Punch kommt so recht mitten aus dem Busen des Gälischen.) Ich weiss nicht, woher das Wort kommt. Die vielen ähnlichen Worte im Englischen ("punch", ein Hanswurst, "punch", ein Meissel, "puncheon", ein Weingefäss etc.) könnten vermuten lassen, es gehöre zu der Verwandtschaft jener Worte, die von dem französischen "poingon" herkommen. Foyer in seinen Reisen versichert, dass "Punch" (das Getränk) ein indisches Wort wäre, das die Anzahl der Elemente bedeute. So aber ist gewiss, dass das Wort "Punch", so wie auch die Sache, hier in jeder Highlandhütte bekannt ist, während bei uns Beides doch nur in denjenigen höheren Cirkeln gebräuchlich ist, in denen man Schiller's Punschlied zu würdigen versteht. (ibid., 221f.)
As to the future of the language, once more Kohl went into the subject in greater depth than most. Some, such as Hailbronner, had contented themselves with a brief assessment of the situation:

Die gälische Sprache ist ein Haupthinderniss der Assimilirung mit dem Niederlande, und die rauhen Scandinavier und Picten, die selbst der Römer nie zu bezwingen vermochte, stehen noch jetzt dem weichern Sachsennachatt schroff entgegen.

(Hailbronner, 312)

And while Wichmann was to take an academic interest in the Gaelic language, its form and history, Kohl's examination was far more comprehensive. By 1842, the year of his visit, it was already a dying language on the mainland and Kohl was made well aware of this from his conversations with local people on his walking tour of the Highlands. He appreciated that Gaelic had contributed greatly to the different nature and character of the Highlanders and that this had also played a significant rôle in slowing down the process of what he terms "germanisieren" or "anglisieren" (Kohl, i, 209). When he talked to the schoolmaster of Muthill about the great progress made in education in the Lowlands of Scotland, it became evident that the teacher saw Gaelic as a dispensable barrier to progress and Kohl, too, clearly shared this view. Real progress can only take place "auf den Flügeln der normanno-sächischen Sprache ... Denn nur in dieser ist Leben, Regsamkeit, Thätigkeit, in dieser Sprache wird geschrieben und weiter gedacht. Alle Gebildeten fallen ihr von selbst zu" (ibid., 133). In Kohl's opinion it is virtually impossible for two languages and two literatures to flourish in one country and it is inevitable that one should suppress the other. There is nothing the Celtic and Highland societies and patriots can do to halt this process. Kohl's stance is clear: "Ja man muss aus hundert Gründen, so schade es ist, das Volkes selbst sagen eigentlich wünschen, dass ihre Verdrängung so bald wie möglich beendigt werde" (Ibid). The schoolmaster cites several examples of neighbouring glens in the parish of Comrie which forty years ago had been entirely Gaelic-speaking and were now almost entirely English. Kohl apparently did not think to question the attitudes and methods of the authorities regarding the language.
As he travelled on, Kohl was to encounter other similar examples of the recent, or pending, demise of Gaelic. The victory of English, the Germanic language, was to Kohl, as a German, inevitable, all the more so since Gaelic had never had a literary tradition. Furthermore, the very fact that Tacitus had written of the Caledonians in the Lowlands shows the early supremacy in Scotland of the Germanic race. The Norsemen and Saxons arrived, and with the combination of these races, Gaelic's end was assured. Kohl asks how an oral tradition could compete with "die ganze gewaltige Macht unserer, mit Abc- und Schulbüchern, mit Journalen und Zeitungen und literärischem Geräth aller Art gewappneten Zeit, die ganze unwiderstehliche Gewalt unserer tausendarmigen Zeit" (ibid., 134). This is in direct contrast to Fontane's view, as expressed in his essay on the Highlands. To Fontane the Highland societies may or may not be effective in preserving certain elements of Highland life, but that is insignificant in the face of "das Leben in Lied und in Gesang, das Leben im Herzen und in der Erinnerung der Menschen" (Fontane, 409). Yet even Kohl was to remark elsewhere (Kohl, ii, 58) that he considered the traditional, and, since Proscription, unofficial, Gaelic district clan names so deepset, that if they were to die out, it would be only very gradually. In this he and Fontane agree. Fontane was adamant that the old life of the Highlands (and with it, presumably, Gaelic) had come to the end of its natural life, but that the spirit would live on as "die Romantik der Clans" (Fontane, 409).
To many a 19th Century German Scotland was quite simply the land of Macbeth, Scott and Ossian. In turn, Scottish literature was synonymous with Scott, Burns and Ossian. In other words, Scotland was seen through its literary associations. It was not so much the intrinsic literary worth of the above writers' works which influenced the foreign travellers during their visits but the opportunity for indulging in the Romantic literary association which a knowledge of these works afforded them. There is thus little discourse on style and artistic merit, but much on content. Occasionally one of the Germans takes it upon himself to go into a work for its own sake as well as for its associative value, but this is on the whole restricted to a few isolated examples.¹ Even though work of the Scottish critics of the 'Edinburgh Review' was widely known on the Continent and was commended by many (Goethe included, in his letters to Carlyle), German interest in them tended on the whole to focus on the criticism of Continental or English rather than Scottish literature. To the Germans the only important literature to come out of Scotland would continue to be that which they already knew and loved and which inspired all that was romantic in them. Moreover, the Germans were the one people whose enthusiasm for Ossian remained largely undeterred by the revelation of Macpherson’s fraudulence. Fraud or no fraud, bards such as Ossian and the heroes of whom they sang had undoubtedly existed. Such was the power of the Romantic imagination that a visit to Scotland could mean an encounter with Ossian and a reliving of Scott’s novels or Burns’ songs.

¹ Hailbronner, 315
a) OSSIAN AND FINGAL'S CAVE

i. Ossian


(Herder, Über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker, Reclam edition, 76)

Herder never visited Scotland. Perhaps he knew in his heart that the land of his youthful dreams was not that of reality, that the wish "eine Zeitlang ein alter Kaledonier zu werden" could no longer be fulfilled. Many were never to come to such a realisation and for them Herder's past dream became a present reality. His plea to the German people to look for their own Ossian, their own natural, unstylised "Lieder eines ungebildeten sinnlichen Volks" (ibid., 8), was ignored by those still engulfed by the wave of Ossian enthusiasm, and for these Germans a visit to Scotland was still an ultimate aim, a trend, and in many cases a fashion, which continued long into the 19th Century.

The German travellers to Scotland at the beginning of the 19th Century belonged to the first generation to be raised on Ossian. By the turn of the century, however, even though Ossian had enjoyed nearly forty years of popularity in Germany, very few Germans had actually made the pilgrimage to the mist-shrouded land of which he sang. Such a journey in the 18th Century had been a wistful and scarcely
realisable dream and most were content to keep it so. As communications improved, however, the journey did become a possibility and Ossian's land an attainable goal. Writing in 1857, Ullrich felt bound to excuse his countrymen on grounds of practicalities:


(Ullrich, 319)

Of course most of the attraction to Scotland lay in its very inaccessibility; and inevitably, once it had become accessible, it, too, confronted the foreign traveller with just as many disillusioning annoyances as did Italy, even though the Scotophile Ullrich vehemently denied this. Ullrich saw Scotland, wherever possible, in Ossianic terms:


(ibid., 318) (2)
Anybody brought up in the literary tradition of late 18th Century Germany would know his Ossian and a familiarity with the bard's work was presupposed by many. Belief in the authenticity of Macpherson's translations was also far more widespread in the German-speaking countries than elsewhere in Europe, in particular France and Britain. In his general chapter on English literature, Goede, himself born in 1774, the year Werther was published, defends both Macpherson and Chatterton. While he cannot deny the importance of Johnson as a literary and public figure, he nonetheless feels justified in attacking the latter's scepticism. (Perhaps surprisingly, considering their steadfast belief in the vitality of the oral tradition out of which Macpherson's Ossian undeniably grew, the German visitors otherwise chose to ignore Johnson's negative role in the controversy.) Goede, for all that he was one of Ulrich's "prosaische Menschen" was also most definitely of the generation which venerated Ossian. His conclusions were drawn after his visit of 1802-3:


Thus, in attacking Johnson and the English in general, the German found it easy to vindicate Macpherson. How in any case could material evidence in Macpherson's favour be genuinely produced from a dying culture? And was the maligned Chatterton not something of a Werther figure himself? It was more convenient for the German to attack the English for their intolerant scepticism than it was for him to side with the Ossian critics and thus shatter the illusions on which he had been raised.

It suited most of the German visitors to omit even to mention the Ossian controversy. It was the Ossianic mood which made such an impression on the German mind, and since they wanted to believe in this bard of nature, they did. The fact that as late as 1857 Ullrich could write "wer hat nicht seine Epoche im Leben gehabt, wo er mit Goethes Werther fühlte, dass Oseian in seiner Seele den Homer verdrängt ...?" shows to what extent this Ossianic Wertherism had penetrated the German mentality. Few of those who actually visited Scotland appreciated the often laughable extremes to which the Ossianic fervour had been taken. In some cases the heartfelt Ossianic passages, written by the German travellers while they were visiting Scotland, differ little in essence from Heine's blatant and poignant parody of the Werther Ossian passages in his "Harzreise" of 1826, an indication on the one hand of the unquestioning acquiescence with which so many Germans accepted
Ossian, and on the other of the success of Heine's parody.

Naturally the views of the earlier travellers at the turn of the century were far more coloured by Ossian than those of subsequent visitors. Even Nemnich, whose tour seldom incorporates anything not of topographical or commercial interest, saw the Western and Central Highlands very much as the land of Ossian. Monzie, with its many surrounding hills and caves, he found a fit setting for the remnants of Fingal's time which were evident there, in particular Ossian's reputed grave (Nemnich, 559). Glencoe was noteworthy to Nemnich not for the Massacre, as one might expect, but for its Ossianic associations:

Glencoe, ein berühmtes Thal, oben am Loch Etive; man hält es für Ossian's Geburtsplatz; mitten durch rauscht der Fluss Coe, oder Fingal's Cona; nach Süden erhebt sich der Berg Malmor, und an der nördlichen Seite desselben Thals, liegt Con Fion, Fingal's Hügel.

(ibid., 547)

Over fifteen years later, in 1822, Löwenthal, too, saw Glencoe as "Ossian's Cona", yet in his enthusiasm he found his expectations of wild grandeur somewhat disappointed:

Die erste Hälfte des Glens grünt bis an die Spitzen der Berge; man findet darin Bäume und einige Fruchtfelder; doch weiterhin erheben sich immer prachtvoller die Cohorten der Bergriesen, tausendfältig von Erd- und Felsrunzeln zerrissen; Wolken sitzen auf ihren rauhen, dünn behaarten Scheiteln; sie und die schimmern Schneeflecken aus dem Runzeln; Nebeln hängen an den uralten Leibern und stürzen als Regen in Strömen herab; zürnend fahren die Geister caledonischer Kampfgefilde im heulenden Sturmwinde über die Regionen dahin, welche sie nur sich und ihren Geliebten geweiht wissen wollen. In diesen Thalgründen soll Ossian geboren worden seyn, hier soll er mit den Seinen geweilt haben. - Aber wie übel ich auch die Witterung in diesen Thälern fand, wie reichlich ich auch darin begossen und durchnässt wurde, erschien er mir, der ich sie im Junius sah, im Ganzen doch noch zu lachend und freundlich, um den Oseian'schen Naturbildern völlig zu entsprechen. Ein Paar Monate später, wenn die ruhe Hand des Herbstes alle Blätter und alle Farben abgestreift hat, und hier allein der Sturmwind lebt und Nebel, Regen und Schnee zwischen den Felsen durch einander peitschet; dann freilich kann dem Wanderer nichts wahrscheinlicher seyn, als dass wirklich in solchen Bergen die Ideen wilder Naturschönheit zu jener Grösse und Gewalt ausgebildet werden.
konnten, welche uns in den Gesängen caledonischer und irischer Barden, die Macpherson, als die zusammenhängenden Werke eines einzigen, Ossians, verband, Staunen gebietend, entgegen tritt.

(Löwenthal, 107f.)

Löwenthal, who had earlier pronounced cold, windy, wet weather as truly Ossianic (ibid., 101), found the June scene too tame.

Johanna Schopenhauer’s account of the Highlands is predominantly Ossianic and, as such, reminiscent of Emilie Hermes’ Caledonia. Her use of vocabulary, such as is found in Werther, and the resulting mood which is invoked is typical of Ossianic fervour:

Warter, 194)

weitere Freunde der Taten des Todes, und seine Söhne, deren Asche sie umschlossen, mit Ehrfurcht geschont und bewahrt. König Fingal ruht, der Sage nach, in diesem Thale im tiefen, dunklen Bette, und die Einwohner glauben die geheiligte Stätte noch bezeichnen zu können. Ossian’s, seines Sohnes, Name und Lieder sind zwischen diesen Felsen noch nicht verhallt, und die Geister der Helden können noch immer von ihrem Wolkensitz der alten wohlbekannten Töne sich erfreuen.

(Schopenhauer, 322ff.)
The Schopenhauers' encounter with an aged bard in Dalmally brought Ossian even closer:

If such passages are set against Werther's letter of the 12th October, to which Ullrich refers above, the similarities are striking. As a wealthy lady moving in high society by the time she published her tour of Britain, Johanna could hardly admit to succumbing to the passionate melancholy of Wertherism; but it would have gone against her upbringing had she denied herself the pleasure of indulging in the Ossianic associations invoked in her by the Highlands.

By 1816, the year of Spiker's visit, the interest in Ossian was being more and more exploited by the Scots. Even the otherwise forward-looking and innovating 4th Duke of Atholl had had an Ossianic grotto created at the Hermitage in his grounds at Dunkeld and the favourable impression this made on the normally prosaic Spiker is a good indication of the attitudes of the time:

Man wird von dem Führer zu einem kleinen Tempel geleitet, und ersucht, sich in demselben vor einem Bilde, Ossian mit seiner Harfe darstellend, nieder zu lassen. Auf den Druck einer Feder fliegt dieses Bild zurück, und man sieht, am Ende eines auf allen Seiten mit Spiegeln verzieren Cabinets, den Fluss tobend in die Tiefe hinab stürzen, und sich schäumend an zwei mitten in demselben sich erhebenden Fels spitzen brechen. Schon von weitem braust das Wasser hoch über die Klippen daher, stürzt sich dann dicht vor dem Tempel in die Tiefe, fließet, noch immer schäumend, durch
eine enge Öffnung im Felsen hinweg, und schlängelt sich späterhin, immer ruhiger werdend, durch den Park. Der Eindruck, den das Ganze macht, wird durch die überall, selbst an der Decke, angebrachte Spiegel noch mehr erhöht, in welchen das Bild des Wasserfalls sich unzählige Male wiederholt, wozu noch kommt, dass der Besitzer in dem Tempel mehrere Concav-Spiegel hat aufhängen lassen, in welchen man den Fall in bildlicher Verkleinerung anschauen kann. Höher hinauf am Flusse sieht man Ossians Höhle, eine künstliche Grotte, in deren Nähe ein zweiter, aber weniger imposanter Fall ... beobachtet werden kann. Es erwähnte mir besonders Vergnügen, die Klippen hinab zu klimmen, mich auf einen im Falle hervorragenden Stein zu stellen, den ich durch ein paar gewagte Sprünge erreichte, und so das Wasser auf beiden Seiten neben mir vorbei in der Tiefe zu toben zu sehen! Über den Fall ist eine Brücke geschlagen, die rumbling-bridge (Rumpel-Brücke ...), von der man schaudernd in den Abgrund sieht. - Ein heftiger Regenschauer geleitete uns an diesem Tage nach Hause ... Schwere Wetterwolken hingen an dem Berge, mit doppelter Gewalt drängte sich der Tay durch die Brücke, und freundlicher als je lockte uns das wirthliche Dach unseres, sehr reinlichen und bequemen, Gasthofes zur Heimkehr.

(Spiker, 234ff.)

Six years later Löwenthal was also to give an account of the Hermitage. Having described the Falls of the Breen, the mirrors and the bard's portrait on the door, he concludes, like Spiker, that "Das Sinnige der ganzen Anordnung entspricht völlig der Herrlichkeit dieser Natur" (Löwenthal, 121). There is no question in their minds that human 'embellishments' might have marred the true beauties of Nature.

Both Löwenthal and Otto, in Scotland in 1822, have their attention drawn to Macpherson's house in Speyside. Otto notes that a monument had been erected to him in the garden. Also in the 1820's Maidinger was to write of Ossian's Hall in the home of Sir George Clerk of Penicuik (Maidinger, Reisen, 8) Although he was to describe the Hills of Morvern as being "durch Ossians Gedichte verewigt" (ibid., 86), it had been Loch Lomond which had tempted Maidinger into a rare piece of descriptive writing in his earlier Briefe:


The passage is packed with evocative vocabulary, all easily related to the bardic world of wild grandeur and melancholy. The translation Meidinger promises his readers appears in a lengthy footnote (ibid., footnote, 161f.).

To Schinkel, also in Scotland in the 1820"s, the hills of Mull and Morvem were quite simply Ossian's territory (Schinkel, ii, 160), and he adds nothing new in describing them as "malerisch, abenteuerlich und schauerlich" (ibid., iii, 104), although as an artist, his emphasis was firmly on the picturesque qualities of the landscape. Previously, in 1817, Meissner had attempted to express in words just what it was in an Ossianic landscape which rendered it picturesque. The Highlands had three main distinctions, language, dress and landscape. Of the last Meissner wrote:

Das Neue ... liegt weniger in den sonderbaren Umrissen der Gebirge, deren nackte Gipfel in die hier so niedrig stehenden Wolkenschichten reichen, oder in den engen grüstenen Thälern, als in dem steten Wechsel der Atmosphäre, in den plötzlichen Übergängen von Sonnenschein zu Regenschauern und denen dadurch bewirkten magischen Effekten. Da diente meines Wissens in keinem Gebürgelande so der Fall ist, so kann auch nur der, der hier war, das Wesen der Ossianischen Poesie recht empfunden haben, denn nirgends haben die Wolkenschleier das Geisterartige, nirgends die Durchbrechende Sonne des Magischen wie hier. Wenn Ossian von einer schönen Jungfrau sagt, sie sei wie ein Sonnenstrahl, so hat dieses nur Bedeutung in dem Lande wo er lebte, und dasselbe ist der Fall beinahe mit allen seinen Gleichnissen. (Meissner, 236f.)
Meissner was attracted by several sites of Ossianic interest, for instance Clach-na-Caus, the rock on the shores of Loch Etive, said to be the post to which Fingal tied his dog Bran (ibid., 250). Crossing Loch Creran, he writes of the district as the setting for many of Fingal's exploits, just as the Hills of Morvern were so frequently praised in song by Ossian (ibid.).

By the mid-century Scott had to some extent taken over from Ossian in drawing the visitors to Scotland, but the roots Ossian had spread in late 18th Century German minds were deep set. Scott's example and powers of association had merely strengthened the Germans' ability to see the Highlands in Ossianic terms. Fanny Lewald, the emancipated lady of socialist principles, Carus, the middle-aged and conservative royal doctor, Brandes, the bachelor headmaster from Lemgo, Ulrich, the art critic, and the young student, Wichmann, were all led through the Highlands by Ossian.

On an evening walk from Oban, Lewald and her companions found themselves in the ruins of Dunolly Castle. Having set the scene, a progression to thoughts on Ossian seemed almost inevitable:

Wir blieben lange, lange in den Ruinen, aus denen bei unserem Eintritt zwei Falken aufschreiend sich in die Luft schwangen. Je dunkler es wurde, je wunderbarer erschienen die einzelnen Felsen im Meer, die wie gespenstige Seeungethüme durch die Nacht sichtbar blieben. Die Luft fing an stärker zu wehen, die dunkeln Epheublätter erschauerten davon, während die Fledermäuse und Seemöven in weiteren und näheren Kreisen um unsere Häupter zogen. Zuletzt war es, als gewinne die Luft Gestaltung, als ballten sich die Wolken und die einzelnen Nebelschichten zwischen den Felsinseln in feste Form zusammen. Langgestreckte Nebelzüge endeten in schimmerndem Schweife an einer Felsecke verschwebend, während zusammengedrängte, kuglige Wolkenmassen sich wie Scharen von Gaspe stern auf den Berggipfeln niederliessen. Dazu hörte man überall die schwirrenden Töne des Nachtgevögels und das stossweise, leise Klagen, das langsame Fächeln des Windes. Hier versteht man Ossians:

"Die Winde kommen herab zu den Wäldern,
die Ströme rauschen von den Felsen -
die Schatten zogen um Kromla's Haupt zusammen,
und zwischen den fliegenden Wolken
zitterten rohe Starne."

Hier versteht man seine Gleichnisse, sein:

"Ich sah ihren Fürsten,
Hoch, wie einen Felsen von Eis -
Sein Speer gleicht einer zerstürmten Tanne,
Sein Schild dem aufgehenden Monde.
Er saß am Ufer, auf einem Felsen;
Und um ihn wogte sein schwarzes Haar wie Wolken."

Diese ganze Natur athmet eine tiefe, gewaltige Melancholie; der Ossian gehört ihr an, wie die leuchtende Perle der dunkelschaligen Muschel.

(Lewald, ii, 511f.)

Lewald's socialist tendencies may not have led her to Ossian, but her artistic and intellectual pursuits could not fail to. She was first and foremost a writer and her literary training naturally presupposed a familiarity with Ossian's poetry. She was especially moved by the strength of his imagery, countering it above with an image of her own. She was drawn to Ossian by the power of the poetry itself.

Carus, on the other hand, was affected by a general Ossianic mood rather than by any particular references to the poems. The word "Ossianic" is to him synonymous with "romantic" - the word alone evokes a picture of wild, melancholy grandeur. As such it need not be restricted to describing the Highland scenery; he uses it for example as an adjective of high praise to describe a Cornish scene he has witnessed on a boat trip from Land's End. Indeed, "Ossianic" forms the grand climax:

Wir steigen aus und treten weiter vor gegen das Meer. - Ein erhabener Anblick: drei Viertelheiten des Horizontes atlantischer Ocean! - Die Granitklippen stufen prächtig sich ab bis hinunter, wo die klaren blau-grünen Wogen weise-schäumend an den Felsen sich brechen. Graue und schwarze Möven (Larus ridibundus und Lestris parasitica) umfliegend schreiend die Felsen. Die Einsamkeit, die melancholischen klagenden Laute der Möven, die ungeheure Fläche des Oceans - es gibt die eigenthümlichste Scenel - Wir steigen tiefer herab - ein prächtiges Felseriff vor uns! hohe Felsengestade rechts und linkel - draussen Klippen mit weisser Brandung im blauen Meere! - gegenüber die einzelnen Felsen (seven stones) mit dem weissen Leuchtthurm mitten in den Wellen, - nahe und fern Schiffe in Menge - hier ist es prachtvoll - gross - Ossianisch! -

(Carus, ii, 55f.)

Returning on a moonlit night to Inverness from an outing to Cawdor and Culloden, Carus experienced what to him was the essence of an Ossianic setting:

Als wir näher gegen Inverness kamen, hob sich zur Linken aus Goldwolken der helle Mond glänzend hervor, auf so schön azurblauer Luft und in so anmuthigen Farbentönen des untern Gewölkas wie ich ihn weder in England noch bisher in Schottland gesehen hatte. - Der Meeresstrand, die öde Haide und dieser Mond - es hätte nur ein Barde gefehlt um das Ossianische
Carus saw Donolly Castle ruins caught by the early morning sun and found this as impressive as Lerald was to find it in the moonlight six years later:

In welcher Schönheit jedoch nun die vom Morgenlicht gerötheten Berge längs der Küsten und Inseln, über dem in alle Farben spielenden Meere hinzogen ist nicht zu malen, um so weniger zu schreiben....

Unsre Brenda [the boat] schnitt nun tiefer in den Sound of Mull hinein, und immerfort erfreuten wir uns an den Felsenküsten der Insel Mull zur Linken, und der Berge von Morven und Airdnamurchan [sic] zur Rechten. - Es war mir als würde mehr und mehr die erträumte Welt Ossians zu einer wirklichen, denn mehr und mehr tauchen die Klänge der Namen auf, die Jeden aus den nach ihm genannten Gedichten bekannt sind.

(ibid., 210 f.)

As Carus implies above, the evocative power of the place names was often all that was needed to rouse Ossianic enthusiasm from the travellers. Thus, on visiting Glencoe and seeing the Cona water, Ullrich immediately thought of it as the river celebrated by Ossian, who had been born by its banks, and on entering the Sound of Mull, his thoughts turned at once to the famed exploits of Fingal and the heroes of Morven (Ullrich, 336 & 351). Travelling along Loch Eil to Fort William, Ullrich was to note first the elegant summer seats of the gentry, then Ben Nevis behind them, and finally, across the water over to the west, the dark hills in the distance:

Dort liegt es, das alte Morven, das Reich Fingals und Ossians - düster, feierlich, geheimnisvoll, umflort von Nebeln und Dämmerung, wie von den Schatten einer abgestorbenen grossen Vergangenheit. (ibid., 336)

Like Carus, Ullrich uses the term "Ossianic" to describe a solitary and wild landscape, but to him it also conveyed a strong sense of an heroic past. Waiting for the steamer at Aberchalder, he was to feel "mutterselten isoliert auf dieser weiten, ossianischen Haide, wo der Wind 'den Bart der Distel schüttelt', indem 'die Geister der abgeschiedenen Helden in den dunklen Wolken langsam drüber hinzischen'" (ibid., 345), and again of Glen Orchy he says, "as
Brandes' reaction to Glencoe is similar to Ullrich's. He took full advantage of the convenient travel arrangements laid on for the tourists. The steamer lands on the south bank of Loch Linnhe for its passengers to see Glencoe, "das wie durch seinen wilden Charakter so auch Geschichtlich berühmt ist, denn es gilt als Heimatland des Sängers Ossian" (Brandes, 42 f.). A 20th Century tourist would not consider Glencoe's historical fame to be its connection with Ossian; that Brandes thinks of it first and foremost as the home of Ossian is also evident from his style. They leave the coach at a slate quarry, which, being worked at the time, provides considerable contrast to the upper reaches of the glen:

But Brandes was not to be put off by this apparent lack of Ossianic fervour:

(Israel, 43 f.)

Only Ullrich refers to any knowledge of Ossian amongst the locals themselves. He lodged in Oben with an elderly couple who were Gaelic speakers but fluent in English; moreover, "der Name Ossian stand bei ihnen in hohen Ehren, und sie wussten ziemlich Bescheid um den alten Barden" (Ullrich, 349) - how much this was to satisfy their foreign visitor's expectations is not apparent. While on the West coast, Ullrich was to find a suitable quotation from Ossian for almost every occasion. On visiting the royal burial place on Iona, he writes:

Trotz gewaltiger Thaten sind ihre Namen der Vergessenheit anheim gefallen, und unwillkürlich denkt man an die Worte eines noch älteren Helden, dessen Gedächtniss übrig geblieben, an die Worte Fingale in Ossian, da Swaran, der König von Lochlin, froh und stolz auf die Dauer seines Ruhmes bei den spätesten Geschlechtern hinklickte: "O Swaran, heut ist unser Ruhm am grössten! Wir werden dahin schwinden gleich einem Traum! Kein Ton wird sich heben auf unserm Schlachtgelden, — unsere Gräber werden sich auf der Heide verlieren!" — (ibid., 364)

Even if it was artistic license to say that such allusions were involuntary, they nonetheless show the great extent to which Ullrich and others like him were influenced by their reading of Ossian.

Ullrich could, however, be more objective than many of his descriptive passages would imply. He does not see the Western Highlands as a reflection of the landscape as portrayed in Ossian's poetry, but instead allows himself to be surprised by it. He describes the glens and passes round Inveroran:

Eine dieser Querthäler, das grösste, das sich bei Inveroran in südwestlicher Richtung, von schroffen, kahlen Bergen eingefasst, öffnet, ist das von Touristen mit Recht gerühmte Glen Orchy. Wenn man den Ossian gelesen, so hat man die Vorstellung, als müsse sich der Terrain seiner Heiden in mächtig weiten Flächen erstrecken. Die ganze Stimmung seiner Dichtungen wirkt auf die geistige Anschauung der Dimensionen gleichsam raumausdehnend. Die langen melancholischen Akkorde seiner Harfe scheinen eines unabsehbaren
Blachfeldes zu bedürfen, um allgemach zu verhallen. Ganz anders zeigt sich der landschaftliche Naturhintergrund jener poetischen Melancholie in der Wirklichkeit. Während man bei Ossian wohl nur selten an enge, schmale und tiefe Schluchten oder Thäler, denkt, haben die Hochlande in der That überwiegend den Charakter eines vollständigen Berglands, dessen Erhebungen und Hohenzüge sich meist dicht aneinander drängen.

(ibid. 335)

It is to Ullrich’s credit that he was prepared to accept that the reality is different and enjoy it for what it was, not allowing this to detract from his original conception of and admiration for Ossian.

As a much younger man travelling a few years before Ullrich, Wichmann belonged to a generation less well versed in Ossian and brought up instead on Scott. His interest in Ossian was accordingly more literary and linguistic than emotional, and his quotation of the beginning of a poem by Ullin, "Dan an Deirg a Cheud Chuid" (Wichmann, 27), arose from his linguistic interest and was certainly not used to evoke an atmosphere of mysterious bygone days.

As is perhaps to be expected, Kohl, though of an earlier generation than Wichmann, was likewise less affected by Ossianic flights of fancy. Indeed, he scarcely so much as mentions the word "ossian", and when he does, it is only as a vague historical term implying ancient, as in his description of Highland huts, "die gerade so aussehen, wie die Wohnungen der alten Ossianischen Picten und Scoten ausgesehen haben mögen" (Kohl, 1, 225). And while Brandes was impressed to see Fingal’s Hill near Luss, from where the hero was reputed to have hunted (Brandes, 28), and Schopenhauer and Ullrich were pleased to see Ossian’s Cave (Schopenhauer, 324 & Ullrich, 336) - the associative value of the place names being here all-important - Kohl was not to be led into the trap of romanticising over an opportunely named tourist sight. Having been shown Fingal’s grave near Finlarig by his guide, he remarks wryly:

Fingal’s, wie seines Sohnes Ossian Grab, wird aber an mehreren Orten gezeigt, und Fingal’s Name tönt von jeder Hüfte, von jedem Berge, von jeder ausserordentlichen Naturcène wieder. Ich
spreche hier nicht bloß von solchen ausserordentlichen Höhlen, wie die Fingelshöhle auf Staffa. Selbst von unbedeutenden gilt diese. Dr. Johnson besuchte, wenn ich mich recht erinnere, auf der hebrischen Insel Coll eine wenig bekannte Höhle. Er fand darin einen ausserordentlich grossen viereckigen Block liegen. Auch diesen Block nannten die Einwohner "Fingal's Tisch." - Mein Führer theilte mir über Fingal etwas mit, was ich bisher nirgends gehört oder gelesen hatte. Er sagte mir nämlich, "Fin" käme von dem gälischen Worte: "fän" her, das so viel bedeute, als "weiss, hellfarbig." Fingal heisse daher so viel als der "Weisse" oder der "Helle". "Hatte er vielleicht helle Haare?" fragte ich meinen Führer. "Yes, sir, he was fairhaired" (ja, Herr, er war blondhaarig), antwortete er ganz ernst und rasch, als hätte er es selbst gesehen.

(Kohl, ii, 86f.)

Kohl's conclusion to this is typically matter of fact - he never accepted unquestioningly what he heard, as Brands* and Ullrich were to do:

Entweder ist das Etymologische an dieser Sache wahr, dann ist es interessant, oder es ist nicht wahr, denn glaubt es doch wenigstens das Volk, und dies ist auch interessant. "Fairhaired" (blondhaarig) zu sein, ist bei den Iren und schottischen Hochländern ein Vorzug, und ich glaube daher, dass sie sich ihren Fingal schwerlich mit anderen Haaren versehen denken können. Auch ist es bei den Schotten etwas Gewöhnliches, Beinamen ihrer Helden von den Haaren herzunehmen; so "Rob Roy" (der roths Robert), "Roderic Dhu" (der schwarze Roderich).

(ibid, 87)

Kohl's reaction to the Ossian controversy as a whole was similar. The fact of fraudulence alone could not detract from the intrinsic worth of the poetry. Kohl's liberal outlook differed considerably from that of Marx the previous year, who would have no further part in praising Ossian's poetry, once he had learnt of its fraudulence.² Kohl writes:

Der Schotte Macpherson ... hat Europa mit seinen alten schottischen Bardenliedern, die immerhin, er mochte sie nun aus dem Munde des Volkes genommen oder aus sich selber geschöpft
Ziegler, so often in accordance with Kohl's views and attitudes, was to take a similar approach. Does everything have to be genuine, he asks, in order to be appreciated? He discusses the controversy at some length (Ziegler, Reise, 239ff.), remarking that the argument was bound to continue into the future. His own conclusion however, is clear:

Und so gilt sein Ossian als eine geniale grossartige Täuschung, welche indess den Urheber als einen der grössten Dichter documentirt und das Verdienst hat, auf die wunderbaren Schönheiten der gälischen Poesie aufmerksam gemacht zu haben.

(Kohl, GB, i, 279f.)
ii. FINGAL'S CAVE AND STAFFA

"Was wollen Sie aber in Staffa?" fragte ich....
"Ich will die wilde Natur des Nordens kennen lernen.
Die Regionen der ewigen Nebel besuchen ......."

(Relletsteb, ii, 68)

The reply Relletsteb received here from his French travelling
companion was only half an answer, for Fingal's Cave, as the most
famous and best documented of the Ossian-associated sights, was both
a geological wonder and a perfect setting for heroic exploits of old.
The mists were both real and metaphorical, the drenching mists of the
Scottish isles and the hazy mists of time. Naturally Staffa
attracted a large number of tourists. The earlier visitors, such as
Spiker and Löwenthal, in 1816 and 1822 respectively, had to hire oarsmen
to ferry them to the island from Mull, but by the mid-1820's the
tourist trade had increased sufficiently for steamers to be run to
Staffa and Iona, and, by 1851, the year Ziegler saw Staffa, a steamer
was scheduled to visit the two islands three times a week from Oban.
Ziegler reports that the latter voyage lasted from 7a.m. to 6p.m.,
first class passage, including breakfast and lunch, costing 25/-
(Ziegler, Bilder, 214). Regardless of the year, however, the voyages
were only undertaken weather permitting and there are many reports of
cancelled or postponed trips, for the most part delays for which the
travellers' tightly scheduled tours did not allow. This was the case
for Meissner in 1817. He had two reasons for foregoing his trip,
firstly, the unfavourable winds, which would have required waiting for
several days, and secondly, the high price demanded by the boatmen.
This he saw as one of the evil results of tourism. He is one of the
few to refer by name to Faujas St. Fond's description of the Western
Highlands and Staffa 9.8 being familiar with such accounts, he wished
he, too, could have visited the island, since all descriptions were
reputedly surpassed by the reality (Meissner, 249). Many others were
to express these sentiments.

The year before Meissner's visit Spiker had been able to visit
Staffa. He was tantalised first by the boat's slow approach to the
island on account of the rising seas:
Endlich lag es vor uns, dieses Wunderwerk der Natur, in seiner ganzen Majestät! Schon oft beschrieben und dennoch unbeschreiblich herrlich! Diese stolzen Pfeiler, die sich dichtgedrängt am Eingange erheben, und sicher auf dem Wasser zu ruhen scheinen, als alles irdische Bauwerk auf der Erde, diese mit Säulen bekleidete, von einer Säulendecke überwölbte Halle, die das Meer zum wogenden Estrich hat, die nur für die zum Prunkgemach geschaffen zu seyn scheint, denen das Element vertraut ist, dieses wundervolle, Farbenspiel der lichtgrünen Fluth, das Rosenroths der zarten Seegewächse, mit denen das von Meere bepülte Gestein bewachsen ist, und das dunkel strenge der Säulenschafts, alles dies zusammen genommen gibt einen Anblick, der alles, was Menschenhand geschaffen, weit hinter sich zurück lässt!

(Spiker, 256)

He goes on to describe landing in Fingal's Cave and clambering over the rocks to Clamshal's Cave, giving a fairly detailed account of the Boatman's Cave, the Herdsman and the Priest's Rock. Nor does Spiker restrict himself to a geological description, for he was struck not only by the shape of the columns but also by the colours:

Die Säulen sind entweder fünf- oder sechseckig, und ihre Zwischenräume durch ein schönes, krauses, gelbliches Moos ausgefüllt; ... An den Steinen kleben überall kleine Muscheln, und Seetang von einer dunkelgelben Farbe, dem nassen Leder ähnlich, überdeckt sie an mehreren Stellen. Das obere Theil der Insel ist mit einem schönen grünen Rasen bedeckt, zu dem man oft, auf einem Seitenwege, Vieh hinaufführt, darauf zu weiden.

(ibid., 258f)

They rescued some kelp burners from Colonsay, who had been stranded on the island, their boat having broken away from its moorings. It added greatly to the excitement of the expedition that these men, prevented by the weather from signalling to their people on Colonsay, would probably have perished had Spiker's party not arrived. For all the detail of his account, Spiker does not once so much as mention Fingal or Ossian. As with his account of the Dunkeld grotto, it was the environment itself and not its associations which impressed him.
Maidinger's account of the island is brief and factual (Maidinger, Reisen, 87f), leaving one to question whether he did actually see it himself. The reader is left in no doubt when reading the accounts of Schinkel and Löwenthal, however. Like Spiker, Löwenthal first had to hire oarsmen to convey him to Mull, and cross that island by land before hiring more men to ferry him over to Staffa. He describes his four oarsmen as "geschwätzige und mehr trinkfertige und lustige als vorsichtige und geschickte Seeleute, die im Verlaufe der Fahrt einen nicht sehr wohltönenden gaelsichem Rundgesang anstimmen" (Löwenthal, 103). Despite this they reached Staffa safely. Löwenthal climbed to the entrance of Fingal's Cave:


As he climbed over the columns, Löwenthal, like Schinkel after him, enjoyed the knowledge that the wonder was coupled with danger:

 ... einzig Glitschen des Fusses, und der Wanderer ist ohne Rettung verloren; willkommen sind da die helfenden Armes der Bootseute, welche den Reisenden hierher geleitet. Aber dann, von Scheu und Ehrfurcht durchbebt, an der Basaltwand zu stehen, aus der Grotte hinauszuschauen durch das Portal, auf den hochaufwogenden Oceans, und nichts zu schauen als ihn und die herunter fallenden Wolken, welche eine Minute! welch ein Anblick! welche Unendlichkeit! Die bildende Kunst ist zu ohnmächtig, hiervon entsprechende Vorstellung zu geben: was vermochte die arme Feder!? -- (ibid., 105)
Löwenthal was accompanied across the top of the island by the keeper, the employee of the island's owner, Mr. MacDonald. The keeper, a man who looks to Löwenthal as barren as Staffa itself, asks the Austrian whether he has to cross the Equator to reach home. On the return voyage a storm rose, and, huddled in the flimsy boat, Löwenthal suffered a sick and wet journey. Despite these discomforts, he voiced no regrets, for he had seen Staffa, "eine der grössten Naturmerkwürdigkeiten des Weltalls" (ibid., 103).

By 1826 Schinkel and his companions were able to sail to Staffa by steamer, stopping overnight in Tobermory. After an unappetising ship's breakfast, Schinkel found the weather suitably Ossianic, but this had its inevitable consequences:


(Schinkel, iii, 107)

He did, however, recover sufficiently to record his impressions. Like so many others, Schinkel was reminded of a church in Fingal's Cave:

Unsere Deutschen, Dannenberger, Dankelmann und der Schweizer, sangen im Hintergrunde eine Harmonie, die im Vogengeräusch wie Orgeltöne klang, zumal die ganze Höhle selbst einer grossen Orgel gleich, und die fünfzig Fuss hohen Basaltsäulen ganz regelmässig, wie Pfeifen, nebeneinander stehen.

(ibid.)

But Schinkel's artist's eye also concentrates on form, light and colour, and he describes the regular formation of the columns, their black colour combining with the green of the sea to give the effect of a rich purple. As the party climbed on to the top of the island, Schinkel was to think not of Ossian but of Scott's description in The Pirate. Moving yet further from Ossian, he reports that a small stone hut was being constructed in order to provide future visitors with refreshments (ibid. 108).
Ten years later, in 1836, Hailbronner and Pulszky reached Staffa by the same means, stopping also in Tobermory. Pulszky, as a keen archaeologist, was fascinated by Iona, but this in no way lessened his appreciation of the scenery of Ossian's country:


(Pulszky, 151f.)

By implication it was a suitable setting for Ossianic legend. The atmosphere of Fingal's Cave itself was also impressive. Pulszky tells how a young Englishman threw off his shoes to avoid slipping on the wet rock, and, anxious to be first to reach the back of the Cave, hurried on in his stocking feet. The rest of the party followed him, clambering over the rocks and leaping water:

"es schien ein Gang in den Pallast der Unterwelt" (ibid. 157).

He goes on to describe the structure of the Cave,


(Pulszky, 158)

Pulszky concludes his account with a description of the Watchman's Cave.
He finds it comparable with Fingal’s Cave in all but one respect: danger. The feeling of sweet danger was a thrill experienced by all who penetrated the Cave.

Hailbronner’s account is fuller. He notes the aptness of the architectural vocabulary which many had used to describe Staffa’s strange formation. He, too, stresses the danger of landing on the island and confirms that its wonders surpassed all expectations. He is struck first by the light: “Die Beleuchtung, welche in den wundervollsten Farbenpielen vom dunkeln Vordergrunde bis zu den in die hellsten Silbertinten der Sonnenstrahlen sich auflösenden fernsten Gebirgen überspielte, war unbeschreiblich” (Hailbronner, 319). Everyone on the steamer rushed to be first to the boat, and Hailbronner conveys well the sense of anticipation and excitement. Despite promises to the contrary, the oarsmen refused to take the boat into the Cave and the passengers were forced to clamber over the rocks themselves. Once more Hailbronner describes the play of light on dark, the black, ink-like water inside the Cave contrasting with the white of the waves outside. He stresses the symmetry of the rock formation, the danger and difficulty of climbing among the columns. While some turned back, he and his companions took their shoes off to gain a better footing and continued on into the back of the Cave, where they found sufficient light to read the many names carved in the rock. Hailbronner was surprised by the purity of the air, and delighted by the Cave’s “music”:

Lautlos horchten wir der himalischmajestätischen Sphärenmusik, wodurch die Fingalshöhle so berührt geworden, und die sich bald mit den grandiosesten Tonmassen, bald mit dem Rollen des Donners, bald mit dem Klang einer schönen Stimme hören lässt, je nachdem die akustischen Fibern dieses majestätischen Baues durch die an den Basaltfelsen brechenden Wogen berührt werden. ... Ich habe mehrere Basaltformationen gesehen, allein die Regelmässigkeit der Säulen, die Höhe des Bogens, die ganze Form und Eleganz dieser Schöpfung der Natur, welche machen, dass man sie für ein Werk der Kunst halten möchte, übertrifft Alles.

(ibid. 322)

Prime amongst all the Staffa visitors was of course Mendelssohn,
the fruit of whose 1829 journey, the "Hebrides Overture", was very soon to achieve international fame. Klingemann nearly persuaded his companion to forego the pilgrimage, in order to avoid his inevitable (and ensuing) sea sickness. It was therefore Klingemann who was in a fit state to recount the journey; Mendelssohn instead sent his family the opening bars of the overture, "um Euch zu verdeutlichen, wie seltsam mir auf den Hebriden zu Muthe geworden ist" (Mendelssohn, Hensel, 256), and adding four days later:

Was liegt da Alles dazwischen, die grässlichste Seekrankheit, Staffa, Gegenden, Reisen, Menschen, Klingemann hat Alles beschrieben und Ihr werdet sich entschuldigen, wenn ich mich kurz fasse, auch steht des Beste, was ich zu melden habe, genau in den obigen Musikzeilen.

(ibid., 258)

Klingemann's description of the trip to Staffa is, as ever, light-hearted and entertaining. He makes small mention of Staffa itself, concentrating on his fellow passengers, most of whom, like Mendelssohn, were suffering considerably.

Staffa, mit seinen närrischen Basaltpfeilern und Höhlen, steht in allen Bilderbüchern; wir wurden in Böten ausgesetzt und klettern am zischenden Meere auf den Pfeilerstümpfen zur sattsam berühmten Fingalshöhle. Ein grüneres Wellengetöse schlug allerdings nie in eine seltsamere Höhle - mit seinen vielen Pfeilern dem Innern einer ungeheuren Orgel zu vergleichen, schwarz, schallend und ganz, ganz zwecklos für sich allein daliegend - das weite graue Meer darin und davor.

(ibid., Klingemann, 251)

Behind Klingemann's light style there lies an interesting attitude; as long as he and Mendelssohn were enjoying a frivolous holiday atmosphere, they were prepared to wonder at the tourist sights, yet Klingemann was no Romantic. His only mention of Ossian in connection with the Hebrides reveals this:

Jona, eine von den Hebridenliebern, klingt doch wohl sehr ossianisch und weichmütig und es ist uns dran - sitze ich mal in einer teils-vollen Assemblée mit Musik und Tanz und ich habe Lust, mich in die ödeste Einsamkeit zu begeben, so denke ich an Jona, woselbst die Ruinen einer Cathedrale, die 'mal geglänzt hat, die Reste eines Nonnenklosters und die Gräber der alten schottischen Könige und älterer nordischer Seefürsten sind; auf manchen Denksteinen sind zwischen groben Verzierungen Schiffe ausgehauen. Wünschte ich aber gar auf Jona und lebte dort von Melancholie, wie Andre von ihren Renten, so wäre mein
dunkelster Augenblick der, wo ich im weiten
Raume, der Nichts führt als Klippen und Möven,
mit einem Male einen Schnörkel von Dampf sähe, dann das
Schiff selber und zuletzt eine bunte Gesellschaft in
Schleiern und Fräckern herantrete, sich eine Stunde
lang die Ruinen und Gräber und die drei kleinen
Hütten für die Lebendigen ansähe und dann wieder
davon zoge — und dieser höchst unmotivirtes Spass
sich nun wöchentlich zweimal erneuerte, als das
Einzige beinahe, woran zu erkennen ist, dass es
eine Zeit und Uhren in der Welt gibt; es müsste
sein, als zügen die alten Begrabenen in einer
pussenhaften Vermummung um.

(1bid., 252f)

Very few of the Germans thought to question their own motives in this way. Klingemann was quite openly admitting that indulging in drawingrom
Romanticism was all very well, but highly unrealistic. Both he and
Mendelssohn were enamoured only of the idea of Scotland, and what
makes them any different from some of their compatriots in this
respect, is that they were intensely aware of this themselves: an
awareness of the harshness of the reality of Scotland was never far
from their thoughts. The Hebrides were far from being only the
homes of romantic bards and heroes and the setting for their famous
and legendary exploits.

From the 1830's, the number of tourists bound for Staffa steadily
increased, as did the variety of their nationalities. In 1836 Pulezky
wrote of French, Swiss, Scots, English, Prussians, Bavarians and
Hungarians "in bunter Verwirrung" in their boat party (Pulezky, 149f.),
and in 1851 Ziegler was to sail to the island in the company of Scots,
English, Germans, Americans, French and Dutch (Ziegler, Bilder, 214).
To many the visit was the highlight of their tour and it seldom
disappointed, giving rise to such comments as "der schönste Glanzpunkt
war eine Dampferfahrt ... nach der Insel Staffa" (Köstlin, 127),
"das war die Fahrt nach Staffa, eine der schönsten meines Lebens.
Fingals Höhle möchte ich den sieben Wunderwerken als das achte
hinzufügen"(Brandes, 42), and "gestern wohl die bedeutendste, gross-
artigste und schönste Excursion dieser Reiseg (Carus, ii, 209).
To this last observer, Carus, the visit was without doubt a Romantic
wish-fulfilment. Even in childhood his imagination had been roused by
pictures of Staffa. He was lulled first into a melancholic frame of mind by the two blind fiddlers who were playing on the boat; the party were then given breakfast by the captain. It is much easier to induce a romantic mood when one is not hampered by physical discomforts and Carus reacts accordingly:

Since they were in a private party and received VIP treatment, Carus and his companions were not only taken by boat right into the Cave itself, but were also able to roam about at will on the grass at the top of the island. A party of black-clothed gentlemen, forming the annual commission for the inspection of Scotland’s coastline and lighthouses, climbed up to greet the King, after which the royal party was rowed back out to the “Brenda”, where they were greeted by the blind fiddlers playing the National Anthem. They were also given the opportunity of climbing about in Fingal’s Cave itself, and here Carus noted in particular Fingal’s Seat:

As with others before him, it is the colours in the cave which attract Carus:
und Patellen, ganz weiss beschlagen sind, ein Umstand welcher macht dass die daran hinfluthenden Wogen über diesem Weiss vom köstlichsten Smaragdgrün erscheinen, wogegen dann die Dunkelheit des grünen Wassers in der Mitte sehr schön absticht.

Unlike Spiker, Carus does not describe the island in detail; instead he adds an appendix to his book in the form of his own free translation of a paper on the geological formation of Staffa by Dr. S. Macculloch.

Even though Wichmann was denied a visit to Iona and Staffa on account of the hazardous weather, he mentions both as islands of great historical interest. His knowledge of Staffa is thus gained only from other sources and it is interesting that he fastens on two otherwise scarcely mentioned aspects of Fingal's Cave, firstly the dripping water, which "durch sein Herabfallen auf das Gestein die harmonischsten Töne hervorbringt, daher die Grotte auch die Melodischehöhle genannt wird" (Wichmann, 48), and secondly Fingal himself, who, as ein mythischer Held Hochschottlands, Fürst von Morvern, Vater des Ossian, in dessen Gesängen auch gefeiert wird, soll Erbauer dieser Höhle gewesen sein. Sein Tod wird um das Jahr 283 n. Chr. angegeben.

Fingal himself seemed to retreat to the back of most of the visitor's minds when they were actually confronted with the wonders of the Cave itself. This was to be the case with Ziegler. In Scotland the same summer as Wichmann, in 1851, he was luckier with the weather, for it was a fine July day, the sea was calm, and, most unusually, there were no reports of seasickness. Having described the stop on Iona, Ziegler goes on to write of the impression made on him by Staffa: "eine unregelmässige eirunde Gestalt mit schroffen Felswänden .... ungeheure Steinsassen .... durch die Macht des Feuers chaotisch aufgehäuft und durch einander geworfen" (Ziegler, Bilder, 214).

By stressing the irregularity of the island, the symmetry of Fingal's Cave was all the more striking. Since the water was so calm, their boat could be rowed into the Cave. Ziegler was deeply moved by the sight and concludes his account:

Die Feder des Menschen ist zu schwach, um die Majestät der Fingalshöhle zu beschreiben. Auch war der Eindruck bei unserer Reisegesellschaft so mächtig und erhaben, dass unmöglich dieselbe das herrliche Lied nach Luther's Melodie anstimme, welches mächtig in den
The religious flavour Ziegler attaches to his account was present in many of the descriptions of Fingal's Cave. Fontane was adding nothing new in describing the Cave in architectural terms and comparing it as such with the Gothic structure of Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey, (Fontane, 282ff.). Yet although Fontane was impressed by the Cave and its remarkable formation, it is as if his heart is not in his description. It was expected of a Scottish tour that it should take in a voyage to Staffa and Fontane included the chapter accordingly. His companion Lapel's sketch of the island seems to contain more vitality than Fontane's verbal description, which he confesses he writes reluctantly. Although the layman's account of the geological formation of the island which follows this statement and the description of the Cave itself are both well written, the phrase, "air machten pflichtschuldigst unsern Rundgang an der Höhlenwandung entlang" (ibid. 284), is telling. The enthusiasm which others express for Fingal's Cave and the land of Ossian Fontane reserves for the tales relating to the castles of Dunolly and Dunstaffnage. After telling the stories surrounding Robert the Bruce's brooch, the Scottish coronation stone and the Lady's rock, Fontane had remarked:

On first reading, Fontane's account of Morven and Staffa may seem in many respects little different from those of his fellow passengers, but the above passage proves an important clue to his conception of the Highlands and Western Isles: Ossian did not 'live' for him as he 'lived' for others, but the ballad heroes of later times did. This
was in direct contrast to Ullrich's reaction.

Set against Fontane's sober report, the accounts of Brandes and Ullrich, and even Lewald, seem rapturous.

To Lewald, it was the excitement of being on the open sea, of being at one with elements, which elated her on her voyage to Iona and Staffa:

Ich fühlte mich freier als je, es schien mir, als besässe ich eine Macht über das Element, weil das Schiff mich trug, und ich verstand wie die Menschheit dahin gekommen ist, sich als den Herrn der Welt zu denken. Ich möchte diese Stunden, dieses Empfinden nicht aus meinem Leben lassen.

(Lewald, ii, 521)

The sea was too rough for the party to land by Fingal's Cave itself, so they were rowed to the other side of the island, where it took three or four attempts to land safely, after which Lewald was glad to take the arm of a sailor for support in walking the length of the island. Again the colours were to strike her, but she felt they were deceptive - the glistening black of the rock and the purple, white and yellow of the heather and other wild flowers belonged only to summer, the mildest of seasons. Standing there, surrounded by the beating waves and the expanse of the ocean, she felt all of a sudden very small, an intruder in a strange world:

Es hätte mich nicht gewundert, wären Geister des Meeres und der Luft erschienen, uns fortzutreiben von dieser, nicht dem Menschen bestimmt Stätte.

(ibid. 523f.)

It was an adventure, which, through its very novelty, could not fail to impress the foreign traveller. Lewald's description is reminiscent of Karl Philipp Moritz' account of visiting the Devil's Peak Cavern in Derbyshire:


Eine wunderbare Wölbung, weit, hoch, kühn, gebildet durch das Ineinandergreifen der einzelnen Basaltmassen, und so mächtig in ihrer Grossheit,

(_ibid., 524f.)

For all her acceptance of the attitude of her English fellow passengers, Lewald's reaction to Fingal's Cave could be said to be the most modern. She does not deny that the surroundings remind her unwittingly of Romantic tales and legends, nor does she try to suppress the Romantic mood on which those of her generation had been raised, yet she does at the same time manage to keep a remarkably clear perspective. She tries not to allow any automatic, even perfunctory, Romantic associations to bias the effect of the Elements themselves, the intrinsic worth of Nature alone:


(_ibid., 525)

The visit to Staffa was the one occasion on which Lewald could justifiably discuss the impact of Nature and nothing more. Unlike Iona, from which
the party had just come, Staffa, as an uninhibited island, gave her no cause to discuss social conditions or historical implications of modern life. On Staffa she had nothing to think about but Nature.

As a classical scholar, Brandes greeted the Cave in Classical terms. Having described how wild the weather could be, he writes:

"Es war sonach ein glücklicher Umstand, dass Aeolus seine Trabanten eingesperrt hatte und schlafen ließ, sonst hätten wir uns der Grotte nicht nähern können. Aber jetzt fuhren wir auf einem Kahn hinein. Und siehe! Panditun interea domus Omnipotentis Olympi, auf that sich der Wunderbau, "the Cave-Cathedral of Staffa", die erhabenste Domhalle, die man sehen kann, zu beiden Seiten hohe schlanke schwarzblaue Pfeiler, die halb aus der Wand hervortreten, kanneleirt und wie von Künstler's Händen geglättet, während oben von der Decke kurze Säulen herabsteigen, deren unterste Enden so glatte Flächen bilden, als wenn sie mit dem schärfsten Messer abgeschnitten wären. (Brandes, 38f.)"

He continues with the accustomed description of the Cave's dimensions, but then returns to his own thoughts:


Faced with such a wonder of creation, it never occurs to Brandes to mention any connection there might be with the world of Ossian. He goes on to quote from Wordsworth, whose "Poems composed or suggested during a tour in 1833", which included the four sonnets to Staffa, had been published fifteen years earlier, in 1835; Brandes more than once
finds it appropriate to quote Wordsworth's sentiments, rather than trying to express his own.

To Ullrich, bent on appreciating Nature, the visit to Staffa was "der Glanzpunkt des schottischen Reisegenusses" (Ullrich, 354). Staffa was quite simply "die Perle der Inseln" (ibid). Like Lewald, he was reminded of Capri:

Staffa und Capri, Fingals-Höhle und blaue Grotte, wer sie beide gesehen, dessen Phantasie gerächt unwillkürlich auf diese Zusammenstellung: dort das Schauspiel eines zauberhaften Farbenphänomens, hier der Anblick eines wunderbaren Naturbaues, beider Stätten, die das Meer wie einen kostbaren Schatz mit seinem Arm umschlungen hält. (ibid., 355)

Ullrich gives a more detailed description of the island than most of the visitors. He, too, was moved by the grandeur of the scene as a whole and by man's insignificance in the face of it:

Der kleine Punkt auf dem man fuerte, verschwand gegen die ungeheure Grösse der Rundeicht und man glaubte fast im freien unermesslichen Raume zu schweben.

As an art critic, he saw this grandeur to be augmented by the colours:

Und über das ganze Meer- und Küstenbild ergoss der klare, leuchtende Aether eine Fülle von Farbenschimmern, zwar nicht so reich und magisch, wie sie der Süden kennt, aber dennoch fesselnd in der einfacheren und blasseren Zartheit ihrer Töne. (ibid., 357)

Through the use of the present tense, Ullrich attempts to convey the sense of anticipation and excitement amongst his fellow passengers as they approached the south side of the island:

Die Spannung lässt den Athem stocken; - der Weg hebt sich ein wenig; noch einige Schritte weiter nach rechts vorwärts, dann senkt er sich, und vor uns über den schäumenden, brausenden, donnernden Fluten eröffnet sich das majestätische Riesenportal der hohen dunklen Grotte!

Welch' ein Stoff der Schilderung für einen Childe Harold des Nordens - diese hundertäulige und tausendstimme Ocean-Kathedrale der Natur! (ibid., 358)
His style is revealing not only as to his own reaction to this, the climax of his Scottish journey, and his consequent determination to see in it the fulfilment of his dreams, but also as to his prospective readers. As soon as "Childe Harold" is mentioned, the Romantic imagination is set to work, and where necessary revived.

Byron's poem had had a comparable effect on the German reading public as had Werther a generation before. Tä Ullrich, having just compared Staffa and Capri, the comparison drawn, or at least implied, between the two pilgrimages, Childe Harold's Hellenic one and his own Highland one, is entirely justifiable. A reference to Byron's work would immediately put the journey to Staffa on a par with Greece as the culmination of a Romantic dream.

In his description of Fingal's Cave, Ullrich's style is evocative; surrounding the cave is indeed a suitable setting for the mystique of past heroes. It is a stark contrast to the world outside and, as such, demands dramatic handling:

Dazu das unruhige Auf- und Niederwogen des Wellenschlages dicht zur Seite drunten, das wilde Tosen und Brüllen des Elementes, das verwirrende Flimmern der Lichtreflexe des Wassers an der Wölbung und an den Wänden, die zunehmende Dämmerung, je weiter man vorschreitet, das Beklemmende der eingeengten Luft, die Schauer der Kühle, die ganze ungeheure Neuheit des Eindrucks; kurzum es bedarf einer gewissen Kaltblütigkeit und Energie, um diesen Pfad zu wagen.

Und wie grandios poetisch ist der Genuss, mit dem das Wagnis lohnt! Man hat das Gefühl, als ob man im Allerheiligsten der Natur stände, als ob man hier dem Pulschlag des kosmischen Lebens unmittelbar nahe wäre, einem Pulschlage, der mit dem Toben von hundert Katarakten und ihren Echochören donnert. Dieser geheimnisvoll regelmäßige Säulenbau der Unterwelt hat etwas von unbeschreiblicher Erhabenheit an sich. Die ungewisse Helle, die in dem mächtig weiten Tempel herrscht, scheint sich mit dem Riesenschatten jener Dämonen zu beleben, von denen die Sagen der Vorzeit aus den ältesten Erinnerungen der Menschheit an die schaffenden Kräfte der Natur erzählen. Das gewaltige Schauspiel will die Seele erdrücken; aber sie ringt mit dem betäubenden Donnern und Dröhnen,
das auf sie losstürmt, und sie schwingt sich gestärkt und gestählt aus diesem Kampf empor auf die Höhe eines kräftigen Existenzgefühls und einer ruhig weihvollen Betrachtung! - Wie still und nüchtern draussen die Welt im ersten Augenblick, wenn man wieder aus diesem majestätischen Tempel an das helle Tageslicht tritt. Noch einen Abschiedsgruss zurück auf den Fittig der Möve, die eben in das Dunkel der Grotte hineinflattert, und dann vorwärts!

(ibid, 359f.)

Nouns alone do not suffice - it is all so splendid, everything must be qualified. Only Ullrich and Lewald, and to a lesser extent Hailbronner and Pulszky two decades earlier, really attempt more than a mere description of the visit and the Cave itself; Ullrich genuinely tries here to put his impressions into words and in doing so hits on one phrase at least which could be aptly used to describe many of his compatriots' impressions of Scotland as a whole, namely "die ganz ungeheure Neuheit des Eindrucks"; Scotland the country - its scenery, its customs, its people - was still, even by the mid-century, a novelty to the German visitors.

There was a mild irony, however. Only those who met with fine weather - "un-Ossianic" weather - were able to visit Staffa, and while they marvelled at the geological wonder of Fingal's Cave, some still found themselves wistfully imagining the scene in an "Ossianic" winter's storm:

Wie mag es hier brausen in furchtbarer Novembernacht, wenn die Wogen des ergrimmten Oceans über den schönen Säulensänden zusammenschlagen und jedes Schiff verloren ist, das in diese Gegend geworfen wird! Und wie wenn die Natur ihre Laune hätte zeigen wollen - denn es war das erstmals in diesem sturmreichen Jahrs, dass der Eingang möglich wurde - so hatten wir kaum die Anker gelichtet, als es in Strömen anfing zu giessen und zu stürmen, und wir das Glück, das seltene Glück, in der himalischen Fingalshöhle gewesen zu seyn, doppelt zu schätzen wussten.

(Hailbronner, 322f.)
A final analysis of the German attitude to Ossian in the first half of the 19th Century comes from Fanny Lewald. Whether or not she is here trying to excuse her own apparent lapse into sentimentality when face to face with a country so steeped in legend, her words on the subject are nonetheless revealing. Born in 1811, Lewald was one of the generations which venerated Walter Scott above all other Scottish literary figures, but by that time Ossian had had half a century to sink deep into the consciousness of German minds. Lewald herself had been twenty years old when she had seen her first oil painting, by Julius Moser; significantly, its subject matter was a character from Ossian's poetry. 

Authentic or not, the Ossianic world represented for the Germans their understanding of the Western Highlands. Macpherson did the Highlands the service which Scott did the Borders and the Trossachs and the literary impact which Ossian had on German readers was very far-reaching. Foreign visits to the Highlands in the 19th Century would have been unthinkable without Ossian. Describing the return voyage from Staffa to Oban, Lewald thinks first of Scott, but ultimately of Ossian:

Immerfort zwischen den Inselgruppen hinfahrend, die einst das Reich der Lords of the Isles gebildet, und von denen jede Einzeln ihre besondere romantische Sage hatte .... bogen wir dann in den Sound of Mull ein, zur Rechten die, hier mit Wald bewachsene Höhen der Insel, zur Linken die traurigen, schweigenden Felsufer von Morven, dem Lande der Ossian'schen Gesänge. Hier und da lag eine Besitzung am Ufer von Morven oder auf der halben Höhe seiner Felsen, wo eine kräftigere Vegetation den Anbau zu wagen lockt; hier und da weidete eine Herde an den Quellen, die von den Felsen hinabflossen in das Meer, dennoch machte die ganze Gegend den Eindruck der Unbewohntheit und Verlassenheit, und immer wieder erwachten in mir die Klagelieder Denlan's, die mich in den Tagen meiner ersten Jugend so tief gerührt..... (15) .... Dass Ossian's Gedichte nicht urält, dass sie nicht wirkliche Thatsachen feiern, focht mich dabei nicht im Geringsten an. Wer diese Gesänge auch gedichtet, welcher Zeit sie auch entsprossen sein mögen, sie
sind diesem Lande eigen; hervorgegangen aus
dem tiefsten Empfinden seiner Natur, und
wiedergegeben in einer dieser Natur vollkommen
entsprechenden Gestalt. Das wird ihnen
Dauer geben für alle Zeiten, und Wiederhall in
den Seelen derer, die hier weilten.

(Lewald, ii, 526ff.)

In her late seventies, in 1888, Lewald was to add a postscript,
in the introduction to her reminiscences, Zwölf Bilder nach dem Leben.16

She begins:

Als ich vor siebenunddreissig Jahren allein
mit mir selbst, bei meiner Reise durch England
und Schottland, auf dem grossen Dampfer die
Fahrt nach den hebridischen Inseln machte,
stiegen, während wir durch sie hinzogen, in
dem wallenden Gewölk des Nebels, das uns
bisweilen umhüllte, die Gestalten Ossians,
eine um die andere vor meinem Innern Auge empor.

Ich sah sie wieder vor mir: "den Sohn des
Meeres, den Fürsten der dunklen Schilde" - und
"Morna, die schönste aller Erdenfrauen, das
Mädchen mit den schönen langen Haaren" -
und "den Fürsten von Erin" - sie Alle, Alle
im langen Zuge! Und mein jugendliches
Entzücken über sie, und lang entschwundene
Zeiten, und meine eigene frühe Jugend wurden
damit wieder lebendig in mir. So ziehen jetzt
oft in einsamen Stunden die Gestalten von
Menschen an meinem Geiste vorüber, die mir und
denen ich nahe gestanden habe, und von denen auch
bald kein Augenzeuge mehr Kunde zu geben im
Stande sein wird.

(Lewald, Zwölf Bilder nach
dem Leben, 'Einleitung')

Ossian could not be easily erased from the 19th Century German
consciousness.
b) **SHAKESPEARE AND MACBETH**

*In der Ferne erkannten wir sogar deutlich den konischen Hügel von Dunainnan .... Was würde nicht in Deutschland wohl manches junge Gemüth, das eben von der Lecture von Shakespeare's oder Schiller's Macbeth aufathmet, darum geben, ihn auch nur so aus der Ferne sehen zu können!*

(Kohl, i, 146)

For the German visitors to Scotland in the first half of the 19th Century the Sturm und Drang enthusiasm for Shakespeare still hung in the air, and for those who visited the country after the great Schlegel/Tieck translations had been published (1825-33), this enthusiasm might well be accompanied by a deep understanding and respect. It was generally recognised that Shakespeare had had a supreme influence on Germany's leading literary figures since the first German translation of 1741. By the 1840's, in stating this, Kohl could write:

Vielleicht sind keines fremden Dichters Werke je so oft in eine fremde Sprache übersetzt worden wie die Werke Shakespeare's in die deutsche. Noch jetzt hat uns jedes Jahrzehend eine oder einige neue Übersetzungen von ihm gebracht. In Folge dessen und in Folge des blühenden Studiums der englischen Sprache ist Shakespeare nun bei uns fast eben so viel gelesen, gekannt und gesehen als in England, und jedenfalls in einem weit höheren Grade als in Frankreich oder sonst in irgend einem anderen Lande Europas.

(Kohl, ii, 419f.)

Although Shakespeare was not one of the chief magnets which drew the Germans to Scotland, there was much enjoyment derived from the associations which arose in the minds of the travellers when visiting, or merely on seeing and hearing the names of the Macbeth sites. As Fontane wrote, on travelling from Inverness to Culloden:

Die Namen der Städte und Schlösser, die diese Strasse passirt, sagen einem am besten, dass man sich im eigentlichen Macbeth-Land befindet: erst Cawdor Castle, dann Forres, endlich Banff und Macduff.

(Fontane, 236)
Earlier he had written of "Scone, Dunainan und der Birnamwald, Namen die jedem Macbeth-Leser geläufig sind" (ibid., 198). More than any of his compatriots, with the possible exception of Meissner, Fontane saw the country he visited on the northern part of his tour as "das nach Norden liegende Macbeth-Land" (ibid., 203). In the letter to his mother 19, in which he announced his safe return to London from the Scottish journey, Fontane was to mention four places he and Lapel had visited: Edinburgh, Stirling, Perth and Inverness. Of these he refers specifically to only one attached "romantic" site, namely Macbeth's Castle, the scene of Duncan's murder. It was no whim which prompted Lapel to suggest "Das Macbeth-Land" as a possible title for *Jenseit des Tweed.*

It can be taken that Kohl spoke for all his compatriots in his comments above. Shakespeare was universally admired in Germany. Meissner had gone further than this on his visit to Britain twenty-five years before Kohl, in 1817. He was free with praise regarding the manner in which the British honoured their poets, notably Byron and Scott 21, but in his view this merely served to underline their unsatisfactory treatment of Shakespeare. Even though he had seen some of the leading Shakespeare productions with Kemble and Mrs. Siddons, at Covent Garden and Drury Lane, his opinion stood firm: Shakespeare was more greatly honoured by the Germans than by his native British (Meissner, 112ff.). This idea was not new 22 and would be familiar, too, to the later theatre critics, amongst them Ullrich and Fontana. 23 It was a phenomenon of the times that much of the German theatre, audience, performers and critics alike, appropriated Shakespeare, or rather, their conception of Shakespeare.

Even though Spiker does not mention Macbeth on his visit to Scotland in 1816, he published a translation of the play ten years after in 1826. 24 In this version, which was not ill received, he included a fairly full introduction and notes on the historical material. The introduction forms in many respects an apologia for the translation's publication in the light of the existence of both Bürger's and Schiller's Macbeth; urged on by the power of the English text, both the latter poets had felt compelled to give
the work a new dramatic form of their own, Bürger even to the extent of adding new scenes. Spiker was of the opinion "dass man es endlich in einer Verdeutschung dargestellt sehen möchte, welche das Original treu wiedergäbe." He continues:

Die Fortschritte, welche man in Deutschland in der Kenntniss der Englischen Sprache und Literatur seit den letzten zwanzig Jahren gemacht hat, haben zur Folge gehabt, dass die Ansprüche an alle Uebertragungen sich bei weitem höher stellen, als vor dieser Zeit, und dass man Bearbeitungen, sie mögen von noch so geschickten Händen herrühren, keinen Geschmack mehr abgewinnen kann.

(Spiker, Macbeth, v)

Spiker attacks both Bürger's and Schiller's versions at some length. He himself insisted on the inclusion of melodrama (ibid., x), considered the rôle of music to be vital, and saw the witches as "der eigentliche Hobel des ganzen Stückes" (ibid., 128). If this was representative of some contemporary German interpretation of Macbeth, then it is not surprising that there is little literary or philosophical reference to the poetry and characterisation of the play from the travellers. Despite the fame and popularity of Macbeth, compared to the many pages given to Ossian, Burns and Scott, the German visitors devoted little space to Shakespeare.

It was to be Meissner, in 1817, and Fontane, over forty years later, who paid most attention to Macbeth. Travelling mostly on foot before the days of organised tourist routes and transport, Meissner was free to move as he pleased. Thus he was one of the few to actually visit Birnam Wood, Cawdor and Macbeth's Hill by Forres. It was while at Birnam that he discussed Shakespeare's probably sources for Macbeth. While the historians believed that Macbeth met his end at Lumphanan in Aberdeenshire, folk tradition had it that he was killed locally. On the advice of two witches he had built his castle at Dunsinane (auf deutsch der Ameisen-Hügel, so genannt um die Mühe und die Betriebsamkeit der Menschen zu bezeichnen, die bei Erbauung derselben angewandt wurden" (Meissner, 273), and was killed nearby. This was as in Shakespeare;
Das Volk zeigt noch in der Nähe von Dunsinnan eine Erderhöhung, die das lange Mannes Grab genannt wird, denn Macbeth war ihrem Glauben gemäß von riesenmäßiger Statur, und nahe dabei ist auch die Stelle, wo Banquo auf seinem Befehl erschlagen wurde. Aus der Ähnlichkeit der Volksage und der dichterischen Bearbeitung folgerte man, dass Shakespeare den Stoff seiner Tragödie auf Ort und Stelle sammelte. Hierzu kommt noch, dass Guthrie in seiner Geschichte von Schottland anführt, König Jacob habe im Jahr 1599 die Elisabeth ersucht, ihm eine Schauspieler-Gesellschaft zu senden, was sie auch tat. „Ich habe grosse Ursache zu glauben,“ fügt er hinzu, „dass der unsterbliche Shakespeare sich unter ihnen befand."

(ibid., 274)

The idea that Shakespeare had been in Scotland excited Meissner.

When Löwenthal was in the Birnas area, five years after Meissner, in 1822, he could not resist climbing Birnam Hill:

Es war nicht die Aussicht auf die vielen, hinter einander in Reihen sich erhebenden Gebirge und auf das Thal von Dunkeld, welche mich auf die Spitze dieses Berges lockte; es war die Lust, auf einer Stelle zu stehen, deren Name durch Shakspeare [sic] unvergänglich gemacht worden ist. Begeistert stand ich auf dem Birnamberge, begeistert fuhr ich durch den in der Tiefe und auf den nächsten Höhen durch Pflanzung neu ergrünenden Birnasmwald, dessen Bäume als Boten des Nahenden Verhängnisses gegen den verruchten Königsmörder heranzogen.

(Löwenthal, 121)

He hardly seems disappointed that the weather was not clear enough to see Dunsinane. As with Carus, over twenty years later, it was the associative power of the names which counted:

Wenn man Dunkeld, gegen Perth hinaus verlässt, so zieht sich rechts am Wege junge Waldung die Hügel hinauf; diese ist der Wald von Birnam, und Dunsinane liegt nicht allzuweit davon, ohne jedoch vom Wege aus sichtbar zu werden. Ich gedachte der Worte:

"Macbeth wird nie besiegt bis einst hinan
"Der grosse Birnam's Wald zum Dunsinan
"Feindlich emporsteigt."
631.

The fact that Macbeth’s Birnam Wood had long gone and the site was now planted with young trees is mentioned by many. It is as if Kohl laughs at himself for wishing it otherwise:

Kohl is also shown the site of a castle, where Duncan was said to have held court, "Duncan’s Hill". Fontane, on the other hand, restricted to the stage route, had to content himself with the knowledge that these sites were actually near at hand, even if he could not see them. Perhaps it was as well for him that Birnam Wood was hidden behind Birnam Hill and that he had to drive past Scone. He was after all fully aware that the towers he saw from the coach belonged to the modern Palace, even though it had been built on the original site. It was enough, therefore, for him to quote the relevant lines from Macbeth (Fontane, 211). The importance of the district between Perth and Dunkeld lay in its associations:

It was perhaps better for those who did not have the opportunity to visit the Birnam sites in person. From Perth Brandes writes:

Nur länger hätte ich in dieser lieblichen Gegend weilen mögen, alsdann wäre ich am Tay hinauf gegangen und hätte Scone gesehen, wo die Monarchen Schottlands auf altem steinernem Stuhle gekrönt wurden, daher
The actual geography, and therefore authenticity, of the Macbeth sites concerned most of the German visitors very little; Heilbronner, for instance, talks of the view from Perth of "Birnamhill und Macbethcastle" (Heilbronner, 313), and goes straight on to talk of the site of Macbeth's castle in Inverness, as if they were very close. For those who did reach Inverness and Cawdor, however, there was no denying their excitement.

Brandes delights in quoting from the play:

Bei Nairn steht eine der ältesten Burgendes Landes, Cawdor castle und schaut zwischen Waldbäumen von ihrem Felsen nieder, durch ihren Namen an Macbeth erinnernd, der Than von Cawdor war. Ueberhaupt ist hier die Gegend, in welche Shakespeares Schauplatz der erhabenen Tragödie verlegt hat, hier die Haide, wo die Hexen den Than als König begrüssen — All hail, Macbeth, that shalt be King thereafter! — hier jenes Forres, von wo der milde und sanfte Duncan auf das Schloß zu Inverness, in sein Todtenbett, einzog, — from hence to Inverness.

(Brandes, 53)

The fact that Inverness was nothing like its description in Shakespeare did not deter Carus from quoting ten lines from Macbeth (in German) as comparison (Carus, ii, 243). As regards Duncan's murder, he was told of two sites where it occurred, Inverness and Cawdor. After he learnt that the latter castle was only built at the beginning of the 15th Century and that it was not until after Macbeth's death that the man who received his lands in Nairn, Sir Hugh Horestrott, was created the first Thane of Cawdor, or Calder, Carus dismisses the latter claim (ibid., 251f.). Neither Wichmann nor Fontane questioned the authenticity of Inverness as the scene of Duncan's death (Wichmann, 40; Fontane, 232). To Fontane,
who remarks wryly that the present Castle will probably take on the air of Macbeth's in three or four hundred years' time, it is the atmosphere of the place which counts. If Abbotsford was to disappoint him, this was a place of true pilgrimage for the Romantic traveller:

Ein romantischer Zauber liegt über dieser Landschaft, ein Zauber, gegen den sich auch der nicht verschließen kann, der keine Ahnung davon hat, dass jemals ein König Duncan lebte, und ein Feldherr Macbeth, der ihn ermordete. Ein Ton stiller, rührender Klage durchklingt das Ganze, wie das Gefühl eines scheidenden Frühlings, eines kurzen Glücks. (Fontane, 233)

The impression that the view from Inverness Castle made on Fontane was sufficiently strong for him to reproduce much of the description of it verbatim in the essay "Das Schottische Hochland und seine Bewohner" (ibid., 394). As the site of Duncan's murder, Fontane considered the Castle quite simply the only sight worth seeing in Inverness (ibid., 232). As for the Grampian as a whole, they were to him the land of ancient Scottish kings, especially Macbeth (ibid., 234).

Over forty years earlier Meissner's visit to Forres had been much enhanced by enthusiasm for Macbeth. He was excited to be able to visit both Cawdor Castle and Macbeth's Hill. He reminds his readers of the rôle of Cawdor in the play and, having described the Castle and commented on its age, he reports that since Macbeth's Castle by Inverness had disappeared, the bed in which Duncan had been murdered was now kept at Cawdor. Five years before his visit, however, a fire had broken out and destroyed half of an ancient iron chest and Duncan's bed, of which only two scorched legs remained; "Eine alte Frau, die hier die Aufsicht führt, und selbst eine der weird-sisters aussah, schnitt als einen Beweis ihrer Gunst für jeden von uns einen Span von diesen Ueberbleibseln von Duncans Betts ab" (Meissner, 265). It could be that this relic is still in existence somewhere in South Germany! Meissner's host, Mr. Brodie of Brodie Castle, had had trees planted on Macbeth's Hill and all those surrounding the area felled; the site was now visible for miles around. Meissner concludes that Shakespeare must have had a good knowledge of the district to include the line, "How far is it to Forres?". In his
description of the area, Macbeth is very much in his mind, and as such the passage can be compared with that of Fontane, quoted above:

Die ganze Gegend hat wirklich einen schauerlichen Charakter, von jeher hat das Volk in der Nachbarschaft sich vor diesem Ort gegrausst und noch jetzt möchte keiner des Nachts vorübergehen. Macbethes Geschichte ist allgemein, und nicht bloß denen die Shakespear lesen, bekannt. So weit das 'Auge deutlich unterscheiden kann, erblickt es nichts als den hoar moor, hinter diesem das Meer und in blätlicher Ferne die schroffen Felsen, zwischen denen der Eingang in die Bucht von Cromarty ist; hinter diesen thürmen sich die hohen Gebürge von Rossshire auf.

(Meissner, 266f)

The heath seems all the more "blasted" when set against the scenes of genteel hospitality at Brodie House, which Meissner goes on to describe.

There remained one further Macbeth site, the burial place of the Scottish kings on Iona. Brandes was to quote the relevant lines concerning "Colme-kill" on his visit to the island in 1850 (Brandes,37), as did Fontane eight years later (though he quoted them in German (Fontane, 299)). Fontane was greatly attracted to the tradition which surrounded the site. As yet no historian could prove or disprove the traditional belief that forty-eight kings are buried on Iona. While he feels this is worth proper investigation, Fontane is also greatly attracted by the high drama of one particular feature of the tradition, and one can be sure that he would not have it otherwise: "die grösste Wahrscheinlichkeit aber hat es für sich, dass wie die Tradition berichtet, König Duncan und König Macbeth die beiden letzten waren, die hier - der Ernordete und der Mörder - im schwarzen Boot über das Wasser kamen, um in heiliger Erde die letzte Ruhe zu finden" (ibid., 298).

There was an air of doom and finality about Macbeth's life which appealed to Fontane. In his chapter, "Lochleven-Castle", he writes of the ruins of Malcolm's castle at Dunfermline. With Malcolm the old tradition was broken "Die Könige vor 1070 liegen auf der Insel Iona ..... in langer Reihe begraben; Macbeth beschliesst den Zug" (ibid., 383).27
While the German visitors undoubtedly knew and loved Macbeth, it cannot be said that Shakespeare had a marked influence on the Scottish tours. Macbeth sites only determined the tourist routes in a few cases; otherwise they were treated as an added bonus.
c) **SCOTTISH WRITERS**

Sey es, dass der Fremde, der erfrischt durch das Lesen neuer schottischer Dichter, eines Beattie, Burns (des einzig wahren Naturdichters und zu dem sich die Kerle, die wir unter uns so genannt haben, verhalten wie die Henriade zu Iliade), Campbell und vor allem des Walter Scott, in Schottland manches poetischer finde, als es wirklich seyn mag; weder mein Aufenthalt in Edinburg und die Streifereien in dessen umliegende Gegend, noch eine Fussreise von beinahe 700 englischen Meilen in den Hochländern konnten bewirken, dass ich meine Bewunderung für dieses Land und seine Bewohner hätte für einen Taumel erklären müssen. (Meissner, 204f.)

As a pronounced Scotophile, Meissner's attitude was not entirely typical of the 19th Century German visitors to Scotland, but he did represent many of his countrymen. Born in 1785, he was of the generation which venerated both Ossian and the contemporary Scott. There is no doubt that the picture of Scotland, held by some of his compatriots, was heavily coloured by Ossian and Scott and it is to Meissner's credit that he was well aware of this danger. Beyond this he also paid tribute to other 'modern' poets, in this instance Beattie, Campbell and Burns. 28 Familiarity with Burns' poetry was far less common than a knowledge of Scott, and appreciation of any other Scottish writers was rarer still. For the most part mention of Scottish literature other than Burns or Scott was restricted to passing remarks, mostly concerning Smollett or Hogg. It should be remembered, however, that although Edinburgh had featured prominently during the late 18th and into the early years of the 19th Centuries as an intellectual and literary centre, boasting figures of great stature, from Hume to Scott, this situation was to change as the 19th Century progressed. As regards literature, the 1830's can be seen to mark the end of an era, with the deaths of Scott in 1832, Hogg in 1835 and Galt in 1839. Moreover, in 1834 Carlyle left for London, never to return to live in Scotland. In 1803 Joseph Frank, an exact contemporary of Scott, had sampled a taste of the old world at its height. Recalling his stay in Edinburgh, he writes:

(Frank, 215) (29)

As with Niebuhr's account of his meeting with James Hogg a few years earlier, the reader is told frustratingly little about these encounters.

Edinburgh's "Golden Age" was past, and instead Scotland was gaining more significance in the scientific and industrial world, and although the 'Edinburgh Review' continued to exert a huge influence well into the 19th Century, this did not necessarily reflect any original Scottish literary output. There were of course writers of importance in England of Scottish blood and connections, but that was incidental. For all Byron's huge influence in Germany, few Germans seemed aware that he was not only of Scots blood but had also spent much of his childhood in Aberdeenshire, and even though Ruskin toured Scotland at this time and Macaulay was both Lord Rector of Glasgow University and M.P. for Edinburgh for a total of twelve years between 1839 and 1856, besides being one of the most popular and prolific contributors to the 'Edinburgh Review', the German travellers found no cause, or inclination, to connect these leading British literary figures with Scotland. Besides this, so much that was great in Scottish literature up to this time was deeply Scottish in roots, form and language, and one cannot expect a Continental to have been able to appreciate Ferguson, Hogg or Galt, especially since none was properly recognised by his own people until well after his death. Furthermore, the German view of contemporary English literature in general was hardly likely to encourage the visitors to enquire after literary activity and development. In 1803, the year when Frank had met with the critics of the 'Edinburgh Review', Goede had voiced the opinion of many in his analysis of the situation in Britain:

Nie hat sich wohl bei gleicher, ungeheurer Leerheit, ein aufgeblasenerer Dünkel, bei einer so entsetzlichen Geistesauszehrung ein stolzeres
Britain was apparently struggling in a literary vacuum. It was not until the years 1810 and 1812, when Scott and Byron stormed Europe with, respectively, "The Lady of the Lake" and "Childe Harold", that the Germans began once more to take proper account of literature in the English language.

Of the earlier Scottish writers there is next to no mention by the Germans. Indeed, there is seldom any reference to any writer before Burns. It is perhaps not surprising that James Thomson was not recognised as a Scot, since he made every attempt to shake off his Scots birth, education and provincial dialect; his "Four Seasons" were well known in Germany, but they were also consciously Anglicised. On the other hand, one might have expected Allan Ramsay's "Gentle Shepherd", with all its bucolic sentimentalism, to have appealed sufficiently to the Germans to rouse their interest when in his country; there is, however, no mention of that poem from the Germans, nor of Ramsay's internationally important Ten Table Miscellany. A passing reference from Maidinger to Ramsay's monument by the Esch (Maidinger, Reisen, 8) and Fontane's brief mention of the poet's house on the Castle Hill in Edinburgh is the extent of his recognition. At least Fontane refers to him as "dieser nordische Hans Sache" (Fontane, 48), even if he does not follow this up. It is significant that although Fontane does mention Gavin Douglas, it is not for his contribution to literature, but for his rôle in the historical incident of "Cleanse the Causeway" (ibid., 76ff.).

A light-hearted reference to a lesser poet is given by Meissner in 1817. While staying at Geddes Hotel in Inverness, the travellers relax in the parlour, his two Scottish companions with the newspapers and he himself with a book he finds lying on the table, Original Songs and Poems, by a certain Macrae. After looking at some of these, Meissner concludes that they are "erbärmlich" and tells his friends that they did better to read in their papers of parliamentary debates and arguments. Having said this, he is conscious of the waiter's keen gaze directed upon him; next
day he discovers that the unfortunate poet, Macrae, was none other than this man! (Meissner, 259). Meissner was, however, a genuine admirer of Smollett, and he is not alone in displaying his knowledge of the writer as he passes the Smollett monument at Alexandria: "Smollet der an den Ufern des Leven lebte, unweit von da, wo ihm jetzt ein Ehrendenkmal errichtet steht, hat sie in einer lieblichen Ode beangen; sie steht in seinem Humphry Clinker, jenem Roman, der ein so lebendiges Gemälde von Schottland liefert" (ibid. 279f.). The previous year Spiker had written of Smollett as a celebrated novelist and historian as he passed the monument (Spiker, 274), while in 1822 Otto was to give a little more insight into the German attitude to the writer. Describing the Clyde valley round Alexandria, he writes:

Der Weg führt durch die fruchtbarsten, vom Gebüsch umgebenen Felder; wir sahen unterwegs das Haus, wo der berühmte Schriftsteller, der herrliche Soollet geboren ist; an der andern Seite des Weges ist ihm ein Denkstein errichtet. Kein Wunder, dass er hier, in einer Umgebung, welche die Natur den heiligen begeistern den Musen weihte, derjenige ward, der er war; angeborenes Talent mag es vielleicht seyn, dass er mehr ein witziger Humorist, als ein lyrischer schwärmerischer Dichter war. (Otto, 351)

The visitors of later generations showed no real interest in Smollett; the guide-books drew their attention to his monument and resulting references can hardly be said to arise from any particular interest on the part of the tourists themselves. 33

In the 1840's Kohl was to show a greater awareness of Scotland's literary heritage. In his Land und Leute der Britischen Inseln he gives the Scots full credit for their intellectual and scientific writing, also recognising them to have been in the forefront of British criticism since the founding of the 'Edinburgh Review' (Kohl, 68, i, 281). He appreciates, too, the importance of dialect to Scottish literature. In doing so, he makes an interesting distinction:

Wie es einen eigenen schottischen Dialekt gibt, der sich noch heutiges Tages durch seine alterthümlichen
deutschen Worte und Wortformen bemerklich macht, so gibt es auch noch eine eigenthümliche schottische Muse, die man von der grossen allgemeinen englischen Muse unterscheiden muss. Schottische Nationaldichter bedienen sich noch heutiges Tages des alten schottischen Nationaldialekts, der also in dieser Beziehung ganz anders dasteht als der irische Dialekt, der Brogue. Die letztere, die nicht eigentlich ein Ur dialekt, sondern nur eine verdorbene Aussprache des Englischen ist, kann nur in der niederen oder komischen Poesie angewandt werden, während der kräftige und würdevolle schottische Ur dialekt auch allen ernsten Dichtungsarten gewachsen ist.

( ibid., 280)

Whatever the grounds for his argument here, Kohl stands out for his appreciation of the individual identity of Scottish literature and his ability to place it in its true context. Having earlier given a definition if the "calculating Scotchman" (ibid., 250ff.), he continues:

Aber auch der grossen allgemeinen poetischen Literatur Englands, welche sich des als classisch anerkannten Dialekts des Englischen bedient, lieferte Schottland bis auf die neuesten Tage herab immer einige ihrer glänzendsten Namen und ihrer schönsten Produkte, unter denen sich Classiker, wie Smollet, Thomson, Beattie, Burns und Sir Walter Scott befinden, welche lauter "calculating Scotchmen" waren.

( ibid. )

In his Reisen in Schottland Kohl had mentioned such writers as Ramsay and Fergusson, but only by name, on visiting their graves in the Canongate and Greyfriars churchyards (Kohl, i, 71). In this earlier work he was to reserve all literary allusions for Scott, and above all, for Robert Burns.
i. ROBERT BURNS

Burns hat mit seinen Gedichten hier im Norden jetzt Alles Uberflugelt. Denn so weit auf den nordischen Inseln die englische Sprache bekannt ist, so weit sind es auch seine Gedichte, und es soll auf den Hebriden und Orcaden Plätze geben, wo von Literatur neben der Bibel weiter nichts existirt als - die Gedichte von Burns.

(Kohl, i, 232)

With these words Kohl concludes Part One of his Reisen in Schottland. He pays further tribute to the poet in his choice of epigraph for each of the two volumes of the work; Part One is headed by the four opening lines of "The Banks of Nith" and Part Two by the four lines of the second stanza of "My Heart's in the Highlands". The very choice of these 'English' lines of Burns shows that not even the more perceptive foreign traveller could really come to grips with Burns' greatest work, which is now generally acknowledged to be that in the vernacular. Nonetheless, Kohl, more than any of his fellow travellers, was acutely aware of the importance of dialect in Burns's poetry. He had his own set opinions on dialect and was intent on proving all possible (and positive) links between what he terms the "Germanic" languages. He claimed that "die meisten Lieblingsworte der englischen Nation sind deutsch" (Kohl, GB, iii, 522) and this view was ultimately to lead him to Burns and Hogg. He adhered to the assumption that those words of Romanic origin in the English language are lacking in onomatopoeic and expressive qualities:

Daher kommt es denn, dass diejenigen englischen Dichter, die sich hauptsächlich mit Naturschilderungen befassen, vorzugsweise gern die alten deutschen Ausdrücke anwenden, oder geradezu in den alten sächsischen Dialekten schreiben, so z.B. die schottischen Naturdichter Hoggs [sic] und Burns, die beide hauptsächlich durch die Energie der altsächsischen Worte des schottischen Dialekts, in welchem sie ihre Gedichte bildeten, ihr Publicum entzücken.

(ibid., 537)

While Hogg mostly restricted himself to the vernacular and thus remained obscure to foreign readers, Burns did not. In turn, Burns was often known abroad for poetry which was far from his best work.

Regardless of which of Burns' works were known in Germany, there was no doubt that the figure of Burns, the "ploughman poet", fitted the...
Romantic ideal of the rustic bard. 37 Perhaps even more poetically appealing was a knowledge of his poetry in rural areas. In 1850 Fanny Lewald was to write with admiration, even astonishment, of this phenomenon:


Kohl had also made use of comparisons with Moore and Byron in his seven-page discussion of Burns. In his view both Moore and Burns had given their respective countries national poetry whose associative power is very great, and he gives examples of this, quoting and giving literal translations from "Scots Wha Has", "My Highland Lassie, O" and "The Bonnie Moor-Hen". After translating a line of the last, he adds with amusement, "Natürlich ist diese Moorhennë wieder eine bonny highland lass" (Kohl, i, 228, footnote)!

He feels almost bound to compare Byron with Moore and Burns:

Denn alle drei sind neuere lyrische Dichter, die bei der ganzen britischen Nation fast auf gleiche Weise geschätzt und berühmt und besonders in den ihnen speziell angehörenden britischen Lande vergöttbert sind. Alle drei sind entschieden von der Gottheit begabte Genies.

(ibid.)

Here the comparison founders. Byron, whom Kohl acknowledges as the greatest genius of the three, was "ein so schlechter Patriot" (ibid.), and Kohl feels he must put this down to England's supremacy over Scotland
and Ireland, which, as the oppressed countries, naturally evoke more sympathy and patriotic fervour. As regards their poetry, however, "Alle drei haben von Schmerz und Melancholie getrübte und zerrissene Herzen" (ibid. 229); Kohl finds it strange that in Britain so many poets should sing in similar melancholic strains. The character and private circumstances of both Byron and Burns fascinated the Germans:

Am meisten durch ihr stürmisches leidenschaftliches Gemüth in sich selbst unglücklich waren Byron und Burns. .... Burns war von allen drei entschieden der Unglücklichere. Denn obgleich seine Gedichte gleich von Anfang herein und noch bei seinen Lebzeiten einen ausserordentlichen Erfolg hatten, so thaten doch seine Landsleute nichts Besonderes für ihn. Man mag dagegen und dafür sagen, was man will, und man mag dem wilden Burns selber so viel Schuld dabei geben, als er wirklich haben mag, so bleibt es doch ein Schandfleck für die Schotten, dass sie den Dichter, der sie am meisten entzückt hat, in Noth und Elend haben sterben lassen.

(ibid. 229f)

Kohl goes on to tell how Burns was forced to write pleading letters while on his death-bed, to try to raise the five pounds he owed to a haberdasher.

The attack on the poets' contemporaries continues:

Burns hat das Material, welches ihm die schottische Sprache lieferte, so trefflich benutzt, so fein ausgearbeitet und in so vollkommene schöne Formen gebracht, dass man seine Lieder ohne Zweifel zu denen rechnen muss, die "aere perennius" sind. Es ist vorauszusehen, dass alle die Millionen der kommenden Geschlechter sich noch lange eben so deren erlassen werden, wie es die der letzten 50 Jahren gethan haben. Und einen solchen Mann liess man in Schottland verderben und allerlei Noth leiden.

Future generations might find their forebears' treatment of Burns inexcusable, but Kohl knew enough of human nature to conclude:

Allein die Welt ist so beschaffen, dass es sich fragt, ob nicht diese so gutgesinnten Nachkommen selbst gelegentlich einmal wieder auf die selbe Weise gegen einen Burns ihrer Zeit sündigen werden, wie ihre Vorfahren.

(ibid. 230)

By the last sentence Kohl manages to keep things in perspective.
Originality, by its very nature, is hard to recognise, and the truth, often uncomfortable, can cause unease and resentment.

Kohl himself finds it easy to become reconciled to Burns' private circumstances on the grounds of the poet's social standing. Had he not lived in an age when education counted, things would have been different for him. He could have gone into battle as a zealous bard; instead of this he remained at odds with his social peers on the one hand, and his intellectual peers on the other. Yet Kohl recognises that had Burns not come from the lower classes, a vital aspect of his work would have been lost, namely his very 'Scottishness': He was a true national poet, able to express himself in the dialect of his people. "Dieses mag ihm natürlich in den Augen der Engländer schaden, während es ihn in den Ohren der Schottländer nur noch höher stellt." (ibid., 231). Just as the Londoners derive peculiar pleasure from the Cockney characters in Dickens' novels, who say "I 'ave" and "fellow" for "I have" and "fellow",

... so finden die Schotten auch zum Theil bloss deswegen einen so unendlichen und unbeschreiblichen Zauber in den Burns'schen Gedichten, weil er statt "with Wallace" - "wiv Wallace", statt "so" - "sae", statt "girl" - "lassie", statt "fine" - "bonny", statt "who" - "wha", statt "all" - "a", statt "brave" - "brav" etc. sagt.

(ibid.)

There is much truth in this, for the Scots are often guilty of appropriating Burns to themselves, to the exclusion of those unacquainted with Lallans. Kohl qualifies this, however:

Ich sage "zum Theil", und es fällt mir dabei natürlich nicht ein, hiermit eine geringere Hochschätzung für die wirklich ausgezeichnete Handhabung der englischen Sprache in den Burns'schen Gedichten an den Tag legen zu wollen.

(ibid.)

Burns' composition skills can only be praised, the more so since he was an unschooled "Naturdichter". This, and the fact that he takes the four lines from "My Heart's in the Highlands" as an example of Burns' mastery of language, show that while Kohl does appreciate Burns' worth, it is not necessarily for literary reasons. Nonetheless, in his high estimation of
Burns, the poet, he is to be commended for his liberal outlook; he is at least intensely aware of the national importance of vernacular poetry, and therefore of Burns as Scotland's national poet.

Leaving Fontane aside, the only other traveller who comes anywhere near Kohl's concern for Burns' poetic contribution to his national literature is Löwenthal. In Scotland twenty years before Kohl and less than thirty years after Burns' death, Löwenthal had 'discovered' Burns while in Fort William. As a poet he describes Burns as "einer von jenen Menschen, welche wir in Deutschland zuweilen, lächerlich genug, Naturdichter nennen hören, als ob andere Dichter denkbar wären" (Löwenthal, 109). Löwenthal makes full use of Currie's biography of Burns, and his eulogy of the poet is largely derived from that:

Burns, geboren in der Niedrigkeit des Bauernstandes, die Tage seines zartesten Alters in Schweiss, seinen Angesichtes hinter dem Pfluge und mit der Sense in der Hand hinbringend, ein Mann von so starkem Geiste und tiefem, poetischem Gemüthe, dass er in einer Lage und unter Entbehrungen nicht sank, deren blosse Gedanke die kleinere Seele in dem verwöhnten Körper erstarren und vergehen macht - Burns, vom Kuss der Muse geweiht, von der Liebe erhoben, dennoch schon auf dem Puncte, den Verzweiflungsschritt der Auswanderung nach einem anderen Welttheile zu thun, und eben da mit einem Male erkannt, gewürdigt und belohnt, in seinem Vaterlande hoch berühmt - Burns, längst in unseile Gesellschaft gerathen, unaufhaltsam weiter und weiter hinabstürzend in den Abgrund der Lebensversirrungen, endlich in ein frühes Grab sinkend, ein ohnmächtiger Slave der rohsten Leidenschaften, der Trinksucht!! - welch ein Bild unserer Menschlichkeit, so gross und erhebend, so jämmerlich und vernichtend, und eben in diesen Widersprüchen so ganz umfassend und darstellend: (ibid., 110f.)

In a footnote Löwenthal refers to a German poet of similar circumstances, by name of Hoffman; it was Burns' circumstances rather than his poetry which excited the German's imagination. Despite this Löwenthal does not restrict himself to comment on Burns' life, and quotes at length a passage from Currie which discusses how rare it is for the character of a genius to match his talent, especially with regard to such problems as drink.
The discrepancy between Burns' life and talent was to find no sympathy from Kalckstein thirty years later. He was not prepared to entertain the notion that such a dissonance could create poetry. In his view there had been no great drama produced in the English language since Shakespeare and English poetry had been equally bereft of true genius, never having progressed beyond the "Ausdruck einer schwächlichen, subjektiven Empfindung". He continues:

So Burns wie Byron; beide sind unbestritten hochbegabte dichterische Talente, aber ihre Dichtungen sind der Wiederhall einer innern Zersessenheit die ihre Entzweigung mit dem Leben in den Klageleuten eines unbefriedigten Ringens nach Versöhnung aushaucht. (Kalckstein, 212)

Such a comment reveals a very incomplete knowledge of Burns - the wit and humour of the post has completely eluded Kalckstein. He continues in much the same vein as Kohl had, but comes to a different conclusion: Kohl reveals himself as the middle-class liberal, Kalckstein the upper-class conservative, who for once sides, out of Romantic fervour, with the downtrodden post of low birth. He is at least honest in stating his opinion:

Die glänzendere gesellschaftliche Stellung Byrons liess diesen über den Bruch mit den Satzungen der Welt durch eine grössere Heimathlichkeit in ihren conventionellen Formen leichter hinwegkommen, dagegen fehlte Burns, dem Bauernsohn, der Anstrich einer höhern geistigen Bildung und seiner persönlichen Erscheinung die Abgeschlossenheit gesellschaftlicher Formen; Befriedigung und inneres Glück haben daher beide Dichter aus dem Born ihrer göttlichen Begabung nie geschöpft.

Das äussere Leben Burn's verlief, bewegt wie die Welt seiner Phantasien, unter Stürmen und Widersprüchen. Von seinen Landleuten gepriesen, gekannt vom Canal bis in die dürftigsten Fischerhütten der Shetlandinseln und der Hebriden, starb Burns dennoch in der drückendsten Armuth an geistiger wie an physischer Verkommenheit. (ibid., 212f.)

Why should it be that in Britain of all countries, where the needy are so excellently provided for through the many charitable institutions and donations, a post of Burns' stature should die in poverty? Kalckstein answers with supreme self-assurance:
Burns, dessen Gedichte schon während seines Lebens in unzähligen Auflagen auf jedem Fleck, wohin die englische Sprache gedrungen ist, verbreitet waren, hat unfehlbar einen ansehnlichen Gewinn von seinen Dichtungen davon getragen, dessen Verlust daher wohl seiner eigenen nur persönlichen Haltungslosigkeit, nicht dem Indifferentismus seiner Nation beizumessen ist.

(ibid. 214)

There were of course Burns sites throughout Scotland which occasioned comment from the visitors. There were no pilgrimages to Alloway, as there were to Abbotsford, although Maidinger mentions the village's significance in passing (Maidinger, 104), and Brandes' attention is drawn to it by the two patriotic Scots, Mr. Thomas and Mr. Gardiner, whom he meets in Banavie. They are full of praise for the "Ayrshire Bard" and tell the German of the fineness of Ayr, the River Doune, and the Burns Monument; Brandes remarks, "Dasselbe .... soll sehr prächtig seyn, wohl möglich, da an 20000 Rthl. dafür verausgabt sind" (Brandes, 46). The Burns Monument in Edinburgh was to evoke a different response from Kalckstein, although he, too, was to stress the financial aspect; it was with mixed feelings that, as a foreigner, he regarded the Monument, for the money expended on it might have saved the poet himself:

S'ist also auch Schottland das Land, das wie Deutschland seine glänzendsten Geister in Loben verlässt, um ihnen nach dem Tode Grabdenkmäler zu widmen.

(Kalckstein, 213)

Others choose to stop there, but Kalckstein cannot share an unqualified respect for the poet. He continues:

So scheint es, und doch ist das Verhältnisse ein wesentlich anderes. Gänzlicher Mangel am Gemeinsinn und unzählige andere Armeligkeiten sind die Grundübel, an denen unser deutsches Vaterland das sich par excellence das Land der Intelligenz nennt, seine begabtesten Talente mit dem stumpfsinnigsten Indifferentismus untergehen lässt. Es ist aber kaum glaublich dass England, das die heimathlichen Verdienste seines Vaterlandes in jeder Sphäre würdigt, in seinen staatlichen Institutionen nicht auch Garantien für die Sicherstellung der materiellen
If Burns had not led such a reproachable life, then he would have achieved due recognition and reward in his lifetime.

Others sided with Burns. On seeing the Calton Hill Monument, Kohl comments that Burns, on his death-bed, would have been pleased "wenn er nur über einen Theil der Summe zu disponiren gehabt hätte, die man nach seinem Tode auf Monuments für ihn verwendet hat" (Kohl, i, 46). Standing by the Monument, Fanny Lewald was to concentrate on two stories connected with Burns, doubtless drawn to her notice by Robert Chambers, and bound to rouse sympathy in her readers:

.. [man] .. sieht hinab auf einen Kirchhof, in dem Burne, von dem ersten Gelde, das er erübrigen konnte, seinem Lieblinggedichter Ferguson einen Denkstein errichtet hat. Unfern von Burns Monument führt eine Strasse in die Stadt hinab, und in dieser Strasse lebte noch vor wenig Jahren die Frau, für die Burns sein schönes: "never met or never parted, we had ne'er been broken-hearted!" gedichtet hat. Sie war die Cattin eines Mannes, der nach Westindien gegangen war, sie verlassen hatte, und doch niemals in die Scheidung ihrer Ehe willigen wollte. Burns hat sie jahrelang tief und leidenschaftlich geliebt, sich aber später doch mit einer Andern verheirathet. (39)

(Lewald, ii, 268f.)

It is hardly surprising that this story appealed to the emancipated Lewald, who herself lived with her future husband for some time before he obtained his divorce from his first wife. She was also moved by the knowledge that Burns' surviving relatives, his sister and her two daughters, were supported by donations given on an initial appeal, which amounted to several hundred pounds, and to an annual pension of thirty pounds, secured for them by Sir Robert Peel (ibid.,269). Moreover, the proceeds of her host's Life of Burns, on which he was working during her visit, were to go to these three ladies. 40

Since few of the German tours took the travellers to Burns' native Ayrshire, the Burns sites which occasioned allusion to his poetry were those connected with his Highland tour. Of these one can name in particular Aberfaldy and the Falls of Foyers. Quotations and inscriptions were either conveniently provided on the spot or alluded to in the guide books.
makes full use of this. Passing the Gala Water as he leaves Scotland, he reproduces the first stanza of a version of "Galla Water", providing, as ever, a literal translation in a footnote (Kohl, ii, 221), and in the Highlands he was to find plenty occasion to quote from Burns. He was even to quote the lines featuring "Bonie Jean" from "The Vision", in order to illustrate the emotive power of tartan (ibid., i, 14).

The Taymouth area provided plenty Burns material. Having described Queen Victoria's arrival at Taymouth on her recent visit, Kohl introduces the poet's description of Breadalbane to enforce his own. Victoria had exclaimed "How grand!":

Auch mir ist der Anblick von Taymouth-Castle
und seiner Umgebung unvergesslich, und der
Dichter Burns, der ebenso davon entzückt wurde,
sang diesem Fleck der Erde zu Ehren ein
hübches Lied ....

(ibid., ii, 17)

He then quotes and translates lines 5 - 16 and 21 - 24 of the "Verses written ... in the inn at Kenmore"; the sentiment of the final lines of the poem was perhaps too melancholy for Kohl, with their reference to "Disappointment", "Grief" and "injur'd Worth". He was to save the middle section of the poem to quote on his visit to the Falls of Acharn: "Auch hier hört und liest man wieder (denn die betreffenden Verse sind auch in der Erzähleinhöhle angebracht), was Burns von diesem Wasserfalls gesagt hat" (ibid., ii, 34). The above poem had proved useful to Meissner twenty-five years earlier, in 1817. He had quoted the opening five lines as the epigraph to his "Fussreise durch die Hochlande" (Meissner, 229).

Three waterfalls were often connected with Burns, the Falls of Bruar and Foyers and the Birks of Aberfeldy. The story of Burns' visit to Bruar and the resulting "Humble Petition of Bruar Water to the Noble Duke of Athole" is retold by Löwenthal in 1822:

"Da kam Burns, der geniale Bauer, sah
den Wasserfall, und schrieb, von einem Freunde aufgefordert, ein
allerliebtestes Gedicht ...." (Löwenthal, 119). There are numerous references to Burns' poem on the Falls of Foyers, partly because it was one of the main attractions on the commonest tourist route. Brandes quotes most of the poem on his visit in 1850 (Brandes, 50) and earlier both Meissner and
Maidinger had quoted it in full (Meissner, 257 footnote & Maidinger, Reisen, 83). All are seemingly of Meissner’s opinion that: “Wenn Naturscenen dieser Art mit Worten oder mit Farben gemalt werden können, so ist letzteres, einigermassen Burns in seinen schönen Versen gelungen” (Meissner, 256f.). Kohl, too, was to praise Burns’ poetry:


What Kohl does not seem to appreciate, however, is the folk nature of “The Birks of Aberfeldy”: it is composed in the manner of a folk-song and it is as such, rather than for the sake of the “bonnie lassie”, that the refrain is indispensable. The story of the composition of this poem was evidently also popular with tourists; such anecdotes, of which many are connected with Burns, brought the poet to life and earned him a popularity even with those unfamiliar with his work. Having arrived at the “Argyle Arms”, in Inveraray, Ullrich refers to just such a story, namely that of a composition of the lines entitled “The Bard at Inverary”:

Leider fiel es mir zu spät ein, mich zu erkundigen, ob dies dasselbe Hotel sei, in dem sich Robert Burns auf einer Reise einmal durch ein paar bittere Verse, die er in ein Fenster einschrieb, versuchte. Der gute Poet hatte die Erfahrung gemacht, dass sich der Wirth mehr um einige im Hotel logirende Gäste des Herzogs bekümmerte, als um ihn, den berühmten - armen Mann.

(Ullrich, 375)
Those who attempted to translate some of Burns' poetry into verse, rather than literally as Kohl was to do, thereby gained a greater appreciation of the poet's creative artistry. Two poems serve to illustrate this, "Scots, wha has" and "My Heart's in the Highlands"; both have Scottish subject matter, but the former is in Scots, the latter, which was more widely known, is in English. Maidinger was to hear the first poem on his visit to Edinburgh in 1820. Writing of the hospitality he received in the family of the elderly advocate, "F.," he recalls:

Die geistreiche Gattin wird in ganz Edinburg geschätzt; sie hat einen kleinen litterarischen Verein von Schriftstellern und Schriftstellerinnen um sich gebildet, in dem sich jedermann heiter und ungezwungen bewegt. In diesem Zirkel hörte ich das beliebte Nationallied: "Scots, wha has wi' Wallace bled" etc. mit einer Wärme singen, die jedes auch nicht vaterländische Gemüth auf das lebendigste ergreifen musste. Ich gebe Dir diese ganz in der Ursprache und füge eine schwache Übersetzung desselben bei.

(Maidinger, Briefe, 151f.)

As well as providing a translation Maidinger explains some of the Scots words and also provides the music in an appendix. It was as a national song that Wichmann was likewise attracted to "Scots, wha has" thirty years later; it is "das vortreffliche Lied ..., welches von Jung und Alt gesungen wird und als Nationallied der Schotten betrachtet werden kann" (Wichmann, 79). He is drawn to it for its historical associations, its nationalism, and also for its succinct language. Like Maidinger, he gives a parallel translation of his own, but regrets that it loses much of its succinctness and force in translation. His fears are well founded; the metre and strong rhythm of the original are quite lost in his rendition. It is ironic that Maidinger, who never claimed any poetic skills of his own — Wichmann admits that he was a versifier — should have succeeded in conveying much more of the original in his version. This can be seen when the first and last stanzas of each translation are compared:

Scotten, aus Held Wallace Zeit,
Oft mit Bruce dem Tod geweiht;
Willkomm euch zur Ewigkeit
Oder Siegesbahn.

...
Legt den Wüthrich in den Staub,
Auf Tyrannen stützt im Raub;
Freiheit weht in Luft und Laub,
Sieget oder sterbt'. (Meidinger, Briefe, 153)

Schotten, die ihr Blut mit Wallace einst vergossen,
Schotten, oft geführt von Bruce als Kampfgenossen;
Seid willkommen eurem blut'gen Bette,
Oder auch zum Sieg!

****
Schlagen wir die stolzen Eindringlinge nieder!
Strecken wir in jedem Feind Tyrannen nieder!
Freiheit ist in jedem uns' rer Streichel -
Sieg denn oder Tod!

(Wichmann, 81)

Only in the short fourth line of each stanza does Wichmann manage to retain
the finality of Burns' poem; Meidinger's version does this throughout, while
conveying much of the original meaning. Having heard the poem sung, he had
been made aware of the importance of rhythm. But Meidinger did not acknowledge
Burns' authorship of the poem; to him it was simply a national song.
Wichmann, on the other hand, recognises it as a Burns poem which had
become a national song [or anthem?]; he appreciates that the emotive
content is great and accordingly gives the historical background. This
attitude can be compared with that of Fontane. In the Burns poems which he
translated in 1855 43 there is no attempt at close translation - indeed,
one should properly call them adaptations - but there is every attempt to
convey the sense and atmosphere, for in them the vital folk element was to be
found. Fontane expands on this in the subsection of his essay, "Die alten
englischen und schottischen Balladen", entitled "Die schottische Volkspoesie";

Die Lieder des Robert Burns und des Allan Ramsay sind
so gut Volkslieder wie die alten Sangesweisen aus Queen
Mary's Zeiten; es ist einerlei, ob ein Lied hundert Stunden
alt ist oder hundert Jahre, und diese berechtigte
Anschauung zugrunde gelegt, blüht die schottische
Volksdichtung bis diesen Augenblick noch, allen
Versicherungen zum Trotz, dass sie 1745 gestorben sei
und gleichsam auf dem Felde von Culloden mit unter den
Toten gelegen habe. Die Burnsschen Lieder von 1785
sind dieselben Klänge wie die Jakobitenlieder von
1745; wir wissen, wer jene geschrieben, und wir wissen
nicht, wer diese geschrieben hat, das ist der ganze
Kohl understands at least something of this when he quotes from the first stanza of "Such a Parcel of Rogues in a Nation" during his discussion of Bonnie Prince Charlie:

Obgleich solche Gesänge keine so praktische Bedeutung mehr haben, wie ähnliche Gesänge von Thomas Moore in Irland, so haben sie nichtsdestoweniger eine grosse poetische und so zu sagen ethnographische.

Fontane only includes one of his 1855 Burns translations in Jenseit des Tweed, namely "Die schöne Maid von Inverness" (Fontane, 239 f.). It was useful to him, as one of the "Jakobitenlieder", to add support and colour to his account of Culloden. He acknowledges Burns' authorship in the chapter's epigraph, two lines from the first stanza, "Drumossie-Moor, Drumossie-Tag, o bitter Tag, o blut'ges Moor" (ibid., 236). Burns' poetry was to be useful to him again in the chapter, "Von Edinburg bis Stirling". His version of "What can a Young Lassie do wi' an Auld Man?", which contains all the humour and spirit of Burns' original, forms the centre of the chapter. The humour of so much of Burns' poetry seems to pass the other travellers by. Beyond these two instances Fontane only refers to Burns twice in passing, once on seeing his monument (ibid., 115) and in the chapter, "Spukhäuser", with reference to the 'daylight' humour of "Tam O' Shanter" (ibid., 98).

For the German visitors to Scotland there were no lines more eminently quotable than those of "My Heart's in the Highlands". To Kohl, the four lines of the second stanza, with their "musikalisch schöne, dem Ohre so wohlthuende Folge der Vocale" (Kohl, i, 232), capture the essence of Burns' achievement as a "Naturdichter":

Es ist in der That unmöglich, nicht von Bewunderung für diesen ungeschulten Mann ergriffen zu werden, der den nicht eben sehr willigen Stoff der englischen Sprache so geschmeidig, so wohlklingend, so musikalisch und kraftvoll macht, dass es scheint, als habe bei der Wahl seiner Worte und bei der Composition seiner Verse...
die grösste und raffinirteste Kunst vorgewaltet,
wendend es doch nichts als die bloße Natur
war, welche seine Schritte leitete.

(ibid.)

There is a certain naive wonder in this view; Burns was by no means uneducated and his mastery of the English language, more particularly, Scots, required great artistry. It is surprising that the level-headed Kohl, who wrote of the said lines, "die Abwechslung der Lauts in den ersten Zeilen ist herrlich, und die Wiederholung desselben Lauts im "loud-pouring" ist kräftig und effectvoll, weil es das wiederholte schallende Wallen der Fluth maßt" (ibid.), should genuinely have believed that they had come to the poet 'naturally'. But it was as the unrecognised genius that most of the Germans liked to think of Burns; he was "der geniale Bauer" (Löwenthal, 119),"der caledonische Barde" (Maidinger, Reisen, 82), and "der gute Poet, ... der berühmte - arme Mann" (Ullrich, 375). In 1817 the first stanza of the poem had been a leitmotiv to Meissner on his Highland tour, which he concludes with the words:

Froh, dass ich wenigstens noch um fünf Tage meinen Aufenthalt in den Gebirgen verlängert hatte, fühlte ich jetzt, als ich ihnen den Rücken zukehrte, und mich vom See Lomond immer mehr der Ebene nahte, das schmerzliche das in den Versen Burns liegt, und das nur der, der hier gelebt hat, mit empfinden kann:
Farewell to the Highlands ..... 
..... forever I love.

(Meissner, 279)

In 1842 Kohl was to use the second stanza as an epigraph for the second volume of his tour, in 1850 Brandes concluded his work with a quotation and his own translation of the entire poem (Brandes, 81f.), and in 1857 Ullrich was to end the account of his Highland tour with a reference to the chorus:

My heart's in the Highlands, my heart is not here-
er der Hochlands gesehen, der murmelt noch lange, lange diese schöne Melodie von Robert Burns in einsamen Stunden vor sich hin.

(Ullrich, 396)

There was no doubt that Burns had now joined ranks with Ossian in providing motive and content for a Romantic tour of Scotland.
WALTER SCOTT


(Kohl, i, 64)

Kohl's remarks here accompany a reference to The Heart of Midlothian after a visit to the original site of the Old Tolbooth in Edinburgh. Kohl, as a professional traveller, geographer and ethnographer, was on a fact-finding mission and not a Romantic tour. Bearing this in mind, the above passage gives a good indication of the extent of Scott's influence both at home and abroad. Others, notably Reillstabe, were to allow themselves to become quite carried away by Scott-indulgence, especially when in the Trossachs, but Kohl always attempted to keep things in perspective. Several of the visitors included in their travel accounts many pages relating to Scott which are repetitive, unoriginal, and therefore dispensable; the fact of their inclusion, however, remains highly significant.

The huge influence exerted by Scott on his German readers was of paramount importance:

Wer Scott's Gesange hoert,  
(Sein Nachruhm ist gegrundet)  
Und ihm nicht Kraenzewindet,  
Ist nicht des eignen wert.

This poem, written by a certain Herr Haug for the 'Elegante Welt' in 1820 and addressed to "England's Poet", gives a representative flavour of the Scott fervour which swept the German-speaking world in the 1820's. Most of the Germans who visited Scotland after that date had been reared on this Scott enthusiasm; to know Scott was to know Scotland, and there were few German visits to the country which were not undertaken in the company of "The Great Unknown". It was Scott who showed the travellers how
to appreciate the land of Ossian, Macbeth and Burns, for he taught them how to indulge in the Romantic association which transformed their journeys to Scotland from tours into pilgrimages.

For the earlier visitors up to about 1820 Scott was primarily known as the poet of "The Lady of the Lake" (1810). The earlier Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border (1802-3) was to be of considerable importance only to those with a feeling for traditional and folk literature; in showing what a wealth of historical and romantic ballad material was still to be found orally, Scott had been able to leave the German Sturm und Drang influence of Götz von Berlichingen behind, and in the section of the work devoted to imitations he could be said to have started the fashion of 'Scots-style' ballad writing in Germany, which culminated in the activities of Fontane and his fellow club members of the "Tunnel über der Spree". The influence had thus been reversed.

It was not until his novels started to circulate abroad that Scott began to play a major part in drawing the Germans to Scotland. The effect of the Waverley novels on the literary scene in Germany was unprecedented. Scott translations, imitations and plagiarisms were published as fast as the printers could turn them out. Ochojski writes:

That the novels of Sir Walter Scott were held in the highest esteem in the English-speaking world throughout most of the nineteenth century is well known, but that the Waverley novels were as highly prized by appreciative foreign readers is not generally understood. Especially in Germany did Sir Walter Scott enjoy a reputation hardly exceeded by any other foreign writer. Thus Goethe, Germany's foremost poet, hailed Scott as 'a great genius who does not have an equal'. A German scholar, Luise Sigmann, writing almost a century later, can proclaim, 'The popularity of Scott is so great that we may regard him as almost a German writer'. Not only was Scott much appreciated in Germany, but his effect on German literature was incalculable. Of this, the critic, Julian Schmidt, wrote in his History of German Literature (1869), 'No matter how we measure it, the influence of Walter Scott is enormous. Yes, I do not hesitate to proclaim it, it is the greatest which any of the authors of the nineteenth century wielded.'

(Ochojski, op. cit., 260)
Many contemporary German works testify to this, not least Pückler-Muskau's Briefe eines Verstorbenen, which however also includes an interview between Pückler and Goethe, in which they discuss Scott, "The Great Unknown", and Goethe casts some aspersions on Scott's mode of composition. As Ochojski points out, it is interesting that Goethe only came to Scott relatively late, and only properly after their exchange of letters in 1827, the year in which Scott officially avowed authorship of the Waverley novels. By that time many of the leading German critics were moving away from Scott adulation. One of Scott's harshest critics at this time was Heine, who was in England that same year, 1827, the publication year of Scott's Life of Napoleon Buonaparte. In his attack of the latter work in his Englische Fragmente, Heine did not restrict himself to a discussion of the work alone, but levelled sharp criticism at its author as well: "Armer Walter Scott! Wärest du reich gewesen, du hättest jenes Buch nicht geschrieben, und wärest kein armer Walter Scott geworden!..." (Heine, op. cit., 231). Of course much of Heine's antagonism towards Scott stemmed from the latter's criticism of France. Scott had called Napoleon the "Exkaiser" and in retaliation Heine wishes to call Scott the "Exdichter" (ibid. 235). Nonetheless it is important to remember that Heine did not stand alone in adopting such a stance. By the end of the 1820's many were attacking Scott, and only those who still held him up as their idol were prepared to venture to Scotland on his account. In some ways these visitors can thus be seen as a relic of a Scott-generation, but many German literary critics continued to praise Scott even after his bankruptcy was confirmed in 1826, and the German visitors to Scotland in the 19th Century were undoubtedly of this school of thought. Scott had constituted such a vital part of their literary upbringing that they could not shake off his influence. While Burns' private circumstances were never far from the visitor's minds, the travellers did not see Scott as the ailing compulsive writer who latterly seemed insensitive to literary merit in the face of overriding debts, but as the creator of the world of "The Lady of the Lake" and the Waverley novels. Scott, like Ossian, was deeply embedded in the German consciousness.

During Scott's Lifetime

Of the Germans who visited Scotland during Scott's lifetime, Meissner
was in the country at the height of Scott fervour in 1817, the year of
Rob Roy. In fact he was to write of the popularity of Scott even before
he reached Scotland. On viewing the Elgin Marbles in London, he had quoted
from Byron's "Childe Harold" and gone on to discuss and compare the
reception which Byron and Scott had enjoyed in their respective countries.
As a nation the British may be less receptive regarding the Arts than any
other people, but there was no denying that the works of Byron and Scott
had met with far greater enthusiasm from their countrymen than even the
great works of Goethe and Schiller in Germany. England and Scotland each
acknowledged the other's poet, but there was also a certain amount of rivalry.
Byron, with his deep passions and suffering, at odds with the world, was
definitely an introverted Englishman. The Scots needed something different:

Der romantisch gesinntere Schotte, in dessen Seele
stets die Balladen der Kinderzeit und der einer dürren
Aufklärung jetzt immer mehr platzmachende Wundergläube
nachhallen, der, er liebe nun an den Ufern des Tweed,
oder auf den nebelumhüllten Ge_bürgen, stets sich von
Plätzen umgeben sieht, die der ungestüme Geist und die
Kämpfe der Vorfahren einweiht, sah mit Entzücken
einen Dichter sich erwachen, der durchdrungen von
den reichen Stoffen der vaterländischen Geschichte, diese
theile romantische Heldengedichte verflocht, theils durch
seine Bemühungen eine grosse Sammlung schottischer
Volksgesänge veranstaltete, die hierdurch vom nahe
drohenden Untergang gerettet und durch seinen
interessanten Kommentar auch für Jedermann weit
zugänglicher wurden. Walter Scott wusste auch da,
wo der Stoff seiner grossen Romanzen nicht immer
historisch war, in diese stets eine treue Darstellung
der blutigen Fehden berühmter Clane zu verweben,
und diesen durch sein ausgezeichnetes Talent für Schilderungen
der Naturscenen seines Landes Haltung und den gehörigen
Hintergrund zu verleihen. Die Engländer lieben mehr
als andere Nationen Naturmalerrei in ihren Werken der
Dichtkunst, allein diese hat bei Scott nie etwas
unbestimmtes, auf jedes Land passendes, sondern sie
ist in seinen Gedichten das, was den Künstler die
Lokalfarbe in Gemälden ist. Solcher Schilderungen
ist hauptsächlich sein berühmtes Gedicht: The Lady
of the Lake, voll, und wie durch dieses jedes Jahr
mehrere Tausende von Menschen zu Wallfahrten an den
See Cathrine gezogen werden, werde ich später zu
erwähnen, Gelegenheit finden.

(Meissner, 110f.)
Meissner goes on to remark that Scott had no need to exclaim, like Goethe, "Ich habe, wie schwer, meine Gedichte bezahlt!", since each of his poems brings in £5,000, of which his publisher, Constable, is able to give him £1,400. (Meissner is assured of this by Constable's son.) Considering its date, the above passage shows remarkable insight into the secret of Scott's success. Meissner does not allow himself to be taken in by a fashion merely for its own sake. He recognises the importance of Scott's Minstrelsy and his 'discovery' of his country's past, and appreciates, too, the peculiarities of the Scott landscapes. Yet at the same time, in writing of "Wallfahrten", he sees that Scott was fulfilling an emotional need, the material results of which were thousands of 'pilgrim' tourists, and thousands of pounds.

Later, while staying in the inn at Rowardennan after touring the Trossachs, Meissner was told that he had been travelling through Rob Roy country. He writes;

Dieser Rob Roy interessirte schon seit einiger Zeit gar sehr die romanlesende Welt, da die öffentlichen Blätter ein neues Werk vom Verfasser des Waverley angekündigt hatten, dem man mit grosser Ungeduld entgegen sah.

(ibid., 242)

In a footnote he expands on this:

Es sind in den letzten Jahren in Edinburg drei Romane erschienen, die durch ihre anziehende Schilderung der ehemaligen nun immer mehr erlöschenden schottischen Sitten und Gebräuche ausserordentliche Sensation erregten. Die Titel derselben sind: Waverley or 'tis sixty years since - Guy Mannering - und The Antiquary. Der gemeinschaftliche Verfasser derselben hat sich nicht genannt, indessen hält die allgemeine Meinung Walter Scott dafür; gewiss ist es, dass er wenigstens Theil an der Komposition gehabt hat, oder wie mir einst jemand sagte: He had had his finger in the pye.

(ibid., footnote)

It is interesting that Meissner feels it necessary to provide his readers with this information; a few years later this would have been common knowledge in Germany. Since Scott had recently been in the area in order to familiarise himself with Rob Roy country, Meissner considers it very likely that he is indeed the author of the novel. He himself is familiar only
with Waverley and is of the opinion that, while much of it is purely of local interest, the work is well worth translating into German. It was not long before the German translators were also to arrive at this conclusion.

Although Rob Roy was the latest attraction of the Trossachs, "The Lady of the Lake" had already had seven years in which to gain its popularity. As Meissner had indicated above, even at this early date Loch Katrine had become a place of pilgrimage. He reports that for three months of the year Callander was now a gathering place for several thousand tourists, who would spend the night in the town, visit Loch Katrine the next day, and then depart. In the inns there were copies of "The Lady of the Lake" to hand, and also "Karten des durch dasselbe für die Schotten klassisch gewordenen Bodens, ferner eine kleine, bloß für diesen Umkreis bestimmte Beschreibung, die der Gastwirth von Callander verlegt hat, und die vorzüglich eine Chrestomathie aus den descriptiven Stellen des Gedichtes ist" (ibid., 235). It did not escape Meissner's notice that the 'classical' ground made famous by Scott meant big money for those of his countrymen who cared to exploit it.

Already boats were laid on to ferry tourists to Ellan's Isle:

It is noticeable that while Meissner acknowledges Scott's achievement and is well aware of his enormous popularity, he does not include himself
amongst the Scott fans. He almost seems to resent the fact that on visiting Holyrood, the woman guide had shown him the portrait of James V in the Portrait Gallery, "und meinte, diesen würde ich wohl aus Scott's Lady of the Lake kennen; so allgemein verbreitet sind hier die Werke dieses Dichters, dass man mit der Kenntniss der Sprache auch zugleich die Bekanntschaft mit ihnen voraussetzt" (ibid., 211). It was not long before a knowledge of English was not even necessary for a German to become acquainted with Scott and the objectivity achieved by Meissner was to become accordingly rare. Meissner himself, arguably the most ardent Scotophile amongst the German visitors of the 19th Century, had no need of Scott; his admiration for all things Scottish was already firmly established.

There were several visitors in the 1820's who took note of Scott, but none with Meissner's insight. Maidinger may not have been much impressed by Rob Roy's Cave on the shores of Loch Lomond on his visit in 1820 (Maidinger, Briefe, 163), but by 1828 he was sufficiently moved by Scott's novel of that name to take a quotation from it as the epigraph to the second volume of his Reisen durch Grossbritannien und Irland [namely the four lines of verse beginning, "Farewell to the land where the clouds love to rest ....."]. Maidinger supplements them with a German translation (also in verse)]. Later in the work a brief reference to Waverley reveals Maidinger's familiarity with that novel (Maidinger, Reisen, 56). Similarly Löwenthal, whose 1822 tour was influenced by Ossian and Burns, makes little reference to Scott, although he was evidently well aware of his work. While in Inverness he sought out a bookshop in order to buy Scott's latest publication, his first drama, Halidon Hill. He retells the plot and praises the characterisation. Later he was to add a postscript in a footnote:

Leider haben seitdem schon wieder drei oder vier jener Romane, welche Walter Scott zugeschrieben werden, diese Werkchen zu einem älteren gemacht. Auch dieses Meisters Trefflichkeit droht in seiner Fruchtbarkeit unterzugehen.

(Löwenthal, 116, footnote)

It is not clear from these comments whether Löwenthal is here referring to genuine Scott novels or imitations. Since his work was published three
years after his visit, in 1825, the former would include Peveril of the Peak, Quentin Durward, St. Ronan's Well and Redgauntlet. While none of these can be seen as Scott's masterpieces, Halidon Hill deserves less recognition still, for Scott was not a successful dramatist, and one must therefore treat Löwenthal's criticism accordingly. Huber, who visited Scotland at much the same time as Löwenthal, was of the opinion that he had found a novel to beat those of Scott, with which he was evidently well familiar. In writing of the history of the Reformation in Scotland, he mentions the Covenanters and draws his reader's attention to John Galt's 1823 novel of that name:


(Huber, 858, footnote)

His praise of Ringan Gilhaize continues at some length:

... die unendlichen Leiden, die hier um den Glaubens willen ein schlichter frommer Bauer erträgt, .... sind mir unendlich viel rührender, wie die so oft eingeblendeten Nöthen der glänzenden Romanhelden, die uns auch der Verfasser des Waverley vorführt. Das Heart of Midlothian ist das einzige seiner Werke, wo einige Scenen an grossem einfachen, aber herzzerreissenden Schmerz sich einigermassen mit diesem Ringan Gilhaize vergleichen lassen. - Wenn man den Verfasser dieses Romane als einen Nachfolger Scotts kurzweg abfertigen will, wie ich letzhin in einer Anzeige sah, so muss man ihn wohl kaum anders als aus einer schlechten englischen Kritik kennen.

(ibid., 858f. footnote)

Such a passage, while it throws little light on Scott beyond conceding his great popularity, is of considerable historical interest, for it gives a good indication of contemporary literary tastes.
farmer's anguished sufferings in no little detail, thus revealing his own desire to identify with the common man, who, in his opinion, is elevated to heroism, while never exceeding his social status. Huber does not wish to detract from Scott; elsewhere he recalls with pleasure scenes from *Old Mortality*, *The Abbot* and *The Heart of Midlothian* (ibid. 877 & 887). The following year, 1826, Schinkel was to be reminded of island life as portrayed by Scott in *The Pirate* on his visit to Staffa (Schinkel, iii, 108). As the years went on such references to Scott became more and more common.

By the time of Otto's visit a few years earlier, in 1822, (the year in which Speker was to publish his translation of *The Pirate*), Scott had published over half of his novels and was enjoying great success. Otto was full of praise for the writer. Having given a fairly detailed description of Edinburgh, he continues:


(otto, 304)

One of those whom Scott was to receive so welcomingly was Moscheles in 1828. In introducing her husband's reminiscences of their meeting with Scott, Charlotte Moscheles writes:

Man bedenke nur, dass diese Bekanntschaft in eine Zeit fällt, wo die Lesewelt ihn schon als den "grossen Unbekannten" entdeckt hatte und sich beeiferte, ihm den Dank für die ganz originelle Lektüre, die er dargeboten, abzutragen.

(Moscheles, i, 186)
She goes on to say that previous to Scott the popular novels had been inclined to indulge in sentimentalism. Although the works of Jane Austen and Maria Edgeworth had escaped this fault, they depicted society alone, whereas Walter Scott was the first to recreate history and provide his historical scenario with real flesh and blood figures, even if the facts were sometimes adapted to suit his purpose:

Bedenkt man dies Alles, so wird man es begreiflich finden, dass er in jener Zeit als grösster Romandichter dastand, und dass der Geschmack der Damenwelt, der seitdem von einem Eugène Sue, einem Alexandre Dumas und einem Wilkie Collins aufgestachelt und in andere Bahnen gedrängt worden, damals das grösste Wohlgefallen an Scott's verhältnismässig einfachen Schilderungen fand.

Charlotte Moscheles' retrospective view (written over forty years after their visit to Scotland) adds a new perspective by concentrating on the literary demands of the female reading public. Her opinion of Scott's works as being "relatively simple" could be interpreted in two ways: either as a reflection of her own personal judgement of the content of the novels, or as a less subjective assessment of the desires, and capabilities, of contemporary novel-reading ladies.

The Moscheles' were invited to call on Scott for breakfast, at his house at 6 Shandwick Place. Moscheles recalls the occasion:

Er öffnete selbst, den kurzen und noch dazu gichtigen Fuss auf seinen Stock gestützt, und bewillkam uns mit herzgewinnender Freundlichkeit. Ehe wir abgelegt hatten, war schon die "Furcht" meiner Frau vor dem grossen Manne verschwunden und wir beide vollkommen zu Hause. Es ging nun gleich an das Mahl, ein echtes Scotch breakfast; zwei gepuderte Diener trugen es im elegantesten Silbergeschirr auf; die Würze jeder Speise war die Unterhaltung mit dem heiter belebten liebenswürdigen Hausherrn. Er versteht deutsch und ist in unserer Literatur vollkommen bewandert, ein warmer Verehrer Göthe's.

(ibid., 187)

Scott tells some stories and they discuss pipe music:

Endlich schieden wir nach glücklich verlebten Stunden, und doppelt glücklich, weil sie nicht bloß interessant
At one of the pianist's subsequent Edinburgh concerts, Scott sought out his wife in the hall and seated himself beside her, "was so viel bedeutete, als der beneidete Augenpunkt der ganzen versammelten Damenwelt zu werden" (ibid.). He applauded the concert enthusiastically with loud "bravos" and the following day sent Charlotte his translation of Bürger's "Der Dichter liebt den guten Wain" and Moscheles a translation of Grillparzer's "Tonkunst, dich preist ich vor Allen". Moscheles adds a final comment:

Seine Unterschrift sah aus wie Weller Scott, da er die Gewohnheit hatte, nie einen T-strich zu machen, ebensowenig I-punkte, und doch war er Clerk (Secretair) des Gerichtshofes, und wir hatten den Spass, ihn noch Tages vor unserer Abreise dort am grünen Tisch unter einem Wust von Acten sitzen zu sehen.

(ibid. 189)

Löwenthal had also seen Scott at work in the Court of Session a few years earlier (Löwenthal, 130f.).

Moscheles' protégé, Mendelssohn, was to put Scott's hospitality to the test the following year, and with less favourable outcome. Mendelssohn's mother evidently set great store by Scott the man, for in a letter to his parents, the composer writes that it is quite uncertain whether he will be able to meet the writer, even though he is armed with a letter of introduction, "doch hoffe ich's, meistens um von Dir, liebe Mutter, nicht gar zu sehr ausgescholten zu werden, wenn ich, ohne den lion gesehen zu haben, wiederkomme" (Mendelssohn, Hensel, 241). The youthful vigour and good humour of the two travellers dispelled any bitterness over the huge disappointment they suffered at the hands of their idol, and Klingsmann was able to write about their encounter with the Grand Old Man with cheerful imagination and wishful thinking; his sense of humour and unabashed romanticising which are not without satire, are indicative of the spirit in which the two young men toured Scotland:
Abbotsford, 31. Juli 29

Staunendseel


Hohe Berge steigen himmelwärts
Und die Moore liegen rabenschwarz dazwischen,
Felsen, Schluchten, Schlösser, Trümmer reden von
uralter Vergangenheit,
Und sinnverwirrend umrauscht es die Neuen,
Die davon träumen, ohne es zu verstehen.

Aber an den Pforten des Landes wohnt Einer,
Der, ein Weiser, der Rätsel kundig ist
Und der alles Alte neu an’s Licht bringt -
Nun ziehen die Frohen
Und rauschen und lauschen
Und reisen und weisen,
Verstehen und sehen.
Heine had used the gold coin metaphor in his attack on Scott two years earlier (Heine, op. cit., 232), but, underlining Scottish meanness, it was to very different purpose. Klingemann’s lines of verse can be taken as a parody of Ossian, but they have none of the bite of Heine’s attack on Ossianism in his “Harzreise”. In the above passage Klingemann remains sufficiently detached to be able to laugh at the Romantic leanings of their Scottish tour, and yet he also is determined to enjoy it. Mendelssohn’s postscript is further indicative of their frame of mind:

Klingemann lügt oben wie gedruckt. Wir fanden Sir Walter Scott im Begriffe, Abbotsford zu verlassen, sahen ihn an wie ein neues Thor, fuhren achtzig Meilen und verloren einen Tag um eine halbe Stunde unbedeutender Conversation, Melrose triestste wenig, wir ärgerten uns über grosse Männer, über uns, über die Welt, über Alles. Der Tag war schlecht. Heut war ein Tag! Wir haben das gestern vergessen und lachen darüber.

(ibid., 246)

But the two travellers were not to be deterred by this early disappointment on their tour: Scott was still the creator of Rob Roy and the spirit of his novels stayed with them throughout their Scottish journey. In his letter of 7th August, describing their progress through the Highlands, Klingemann tells how “Viehherden mit Rob Roy’s sperrten zu Zeiten unsern Lauf” (ibid. 249) and he was impressed on hearing a tale of a lady who was a descendant of Rob Roy (ibid. 250). On 10th August he writes from Glasgow of the following day’s excursion and displays his usual sense of fun: “Am 11ten, Morgen, geht’s zum Loch Lomond und zu den übrigen Punkten, die eigentlich als Beilagen zu Walter Scott’s sämtlichen Werken ausgegeben und verpackt werden sollten” (ibid., 256).

It was not until the 1840’s that the real Scott pilgrimages began. From now on the travellers would not merely mention Scott, but refer specifically to passages in favourite novels or poems and frequently allow
their view of the country to be totally coloured by this. As Marx put it, when travelling North through Northumberland into Scotland in 1841:

Die Schaulust und Wissbegierde können von nun an vollauf befriedigt werden, besonders wenn die Geschichte des Landes und die Schilderungen Walter Scotts einem nicht fremd geblieben.

(Marx, 16)

After Scott's Death

It soon becomes apparent that those born at the turn of the Century constitute the true "Scott generation". One can name in particular Brandes, Rellstab and Förster, all men who were in their impressionable teens and early twenties when Scott's works were at the height of their popularity in Germany, yet who did not come to visit Scotland until the years 1850 and 1851. In some cases those of a later generation were assuredly influenced by their parents' tastes; this is known to be the case, for instance, with Mendelssohn, Fontane and Alfred Meissner. For this later generation Scott was no longer 'in vogue', but his works had become established reading matter for the German public.

While Ossian's influence had brought about a feeling for a landscape, whose exact location was unimportant, but which had specific attributes, the Scott scenery was directly linked to events in his works. Thus certain sites are visited above all others, the most popular of which was the Trossachs, first and foremost as the setting of "The Lady of the Lake", but also as the background for many of the exploits of Rob Roy. Edinburgh was frequently regarded as the setting for scenes from Waverley and The Heart of Midlothian, and additionally as the town in which Scott had lived and worked, and which had honoured him in the erection of the Scott monument. The third site has to do directly with Scott's life rather than his work, but, as his "Romance in Stone and Mortar", Abbotsford fascinated many.

Of Scott's poetry "The Lady of the Lake" exerted by far the most influence on the German visitors. Familiarity with the poem could be said to have been a prerequisite of a tour in Scotland after the poem's publication in 1810. Indeed for some the Trossachs could only be seen in the light of the poem. In 1841 Marx felt drawn to the beauty of the area:
"jene Stelle ist sehr schön und man begreift, wie der Sänger der Lady of the Lake dem Gelispel der Birken auf den kühn geformten Steinen zu sanften und rauschenden Klängen sich gestimmt fühlte" (Marx, 32f.) He does not dwell on the poem, however, but concentrates on the scenery itself and his fellow passengers. The following year, 1842, Kohl was to invoke Scott's help in describing Loch Katrine by quoting ten lines of the poem (Kohl, ii, 125) - having already quoted from it on visiting the Douglas Room in Stirling Castle (ibid., i, 118) - but he was also able to step back and view it objectively, saying, "Im Grossen und Ganzen gibt es am Loch Katterin nichts Bedeutungsvolles. Denn im Grossen und Ganzen sieht hier Alles zu grau und dunkel aus" (ibid. ii, 127). But when he actually lands on Ellen's Isle the scenes from the poem come vividly to mind:

Man zeigt noch die Scenen jeder Stelle in dem Liede, - die, wo der König die Felsen herabkletterte, indem er den Hirsch verfolgte, - die, wo er, in seinem Plaid gehüllt, die Nacht schlief, - die, wo er das schöne Mädchen der Wildnis zuerst erblickte. Mein Führer wusste das ganz Gedicht auswendig und citirte mir bei jedem Flecke das Nöthige. Obgleich an der ganzen Geschichte ausser der schönen poetischen Wahrheit kaum etwas Wahres ist, so kommen doch jährlich Tausende von Menschen, um sich diese verschiedenen Stellen anzusehen und dabei in zauberischen Vorstellungen und poetischen Ideen zu schwelgen. (ibid., 127f.)

The division between "die schöne poetische Wahrheit" and "das Wahre" is clear cut.

The visitors of the 1850's allowed themselves to become more carried away by the Trossachs as Scott's territory. As Lewald pointed out, the guides and handbooks ensured the tourist of a comfortable headstart:

Das Handbuch durch diesen Theil der Hochlands ist so interessant, dass man nicht weiss, ob man die Berge und die Ruinen am Wege betrachten, oder ihre Geschichte und ihre Sagen lesen soll. Meine Reisegeführten lebten und webten in dieser Welt, hatten die Gegend schon mehrfach besucht, kannten jeden Punkt, und machten sich eine Freude daraus, nicht nur die einzelnen Orte zu nennen an denen wir vorüber kamen, sondern auch die Balladen und Gedichte zu recitiren, mit denen ihre Poeten diesen Theil des Landes verherrlicht haben. Auch die Handbücher geben
Waagen was to see his 1850 visit to Loch Long and Loch Lomond in terms of both Ossian and Scott (Waagen, 291), while the same year Brandes quoted from the poem on visiting the Douglas Room in Stirling Castle (Brandes, 57). As Lewald indicates, the whole atmosphere of a Highland tour, created on the one hand by the guides and on the other by the tourists themselves, was geared to such associative thought.

Both Rellstab and Förster in 1851 allowed their Scott enthusiasm free rein on their Trossachs tours; but while Förster managed to retain a sense of balance, Rellstab's account is typically fulsome. He is so filled with romantic spirit on his visit to Loch Katrine that he nicknames the blonde beauty of their party the "lady of the lake" and has no qualms over indulging in whimsical fancy, "wie wir beide den Mondsehineabend des Sonnabend, und den Purpurmorgen des Sonntag himmisch romantisch zubringen könnten, in den romantischen Hochlandsbergen am Kathrin-See!" (Rellstab, ii, 1f.). He elaborates on this at some length. Although Rellstab enjoys continually poking fun at himself in this imaginary and impossible rôle as "Blondchen's" suitor, it is tedious for the reader. The following excerpt can suffice as an example of his rambling style:

Hieraus sieht aber der Leser, was er für einen gewissenhaften Sommermärchenschreiber vor sich hat. Denn, wäre ich nicht selbst in den Mährchen der exacteste Berichterstatter der Wahrheit, ich hätte dir Träume zu Wahrheiten gestempelt, und — was sich erzählen lässt von solchen romantischen Reisenabenteuern im Hochlande, das Überlasse ich jedem Laser und jeder Laserin zu denken! — Jetzt aber wird alles Denken aufgegeben, denn wir sind im Dampfschiff, und wollen sehen. Vergesse mir niemand, dass ich hier gar keinen Roman schreibe, sondern eine Reise mache, und geographische und statistische Genauigkeit at der Spitze aller meiner Pflichten steht. — Ich wollte mich daher lieber, gleich dem armen Morris von Helena Mac-Gregor [in Rob Roy] mit einem schottischen Plaid und einem schottischen Felsen darin um den Hals, in den See stürzen lassen, als während der Ueberfahrt,
Despite his undertaking to give factual information and his allusion to Scott, Rellstab's only real matter for concern is himself. Occasionally he does allow himself to be brought back down to earth, but not for long: he expresses his regret, for instance, over the fact that the steamer no longer calls at Ellen's Isle, since the hut there had been burnt down, but in turn this sober news merely gives him further excuse to fantasies (ibid., 5f.).

It is almost as if Förster felt obliged to acquiesce in Scott adulation on his coach tour round Loch Katrine, since that was the prevailing mood of his fellow passengers and was also very much dictated by their colourful coachman. It was a rushed and cramped tour, providing no time for solitary or serious reflection. Förster does, however, give some space to the Trossachs' own beauties (Förster, 327f.) and at Inversnaid refers to Wordsworth's "Highland lass". But soon he, too, gives way to Scott association:

Der war ich nun auf dem Theater der romantischen Abenteuer, die uns Walter Scotts Zaubergeist aufgeführt haben. Welch! einfache Scenari! Kaum weise die Phantasie in diesem dünnen durchnudelten Gebüsch, auf dem offenen und kahlen, nur mit kurzem Heidekraut überschwämmten Hügel den wilden Robin unterzubringen oder auf den schlecht begrasten sumpfigen Wiesenflächen neben hungerigen, zottigen Rindern die Haufen puritanischer Schwärme aufzustellen. Wohl aber begreift man ganz den unverwüstlichen Hass der galischen Bergbewohner gegen ihre sächsischen Nachbarn, die sie aus den fetten Triften in der Ebene in dieses öde, unwirtliche Hochland gedrängt, und vollständig klar wird hier der Sinn der Worte, welche Walter Scott dem mächtigen Hochlands Clan Rodrik gegen König James und die Anklage auf Raublust der Hochländer in den Mund legt, als sie in dieser Gegend zusammengetroffen ... (Förster, 328)
There follows a lengthy quotation from "The Lady of the Lake", a translation from the fifth canto of the poem. In writing of the simplicity of the scenery which Scott had transformed, Förster anticipates some of Fontane's remarks.

Describing the steamer crossing Loch Katrine, Förster remarks that he was the only Continental of the party, who numbered three young men from Cincinnati, a Spaniard from Cuba, a young couple from New Orleans, escaping an outbreak of yellow fever, a couple from Glasgow and several English. Scott's fame had travelled far. Of Loch Katrine Förster writes:

Er ist schön; aber seinen eigentlichen, weit verbreiteten Ruhm verdankt er dem Fräulein vom See, dessen Heimath er war. Wie reisende Britten, wenn sie den Rhein hinabfahren, die Ufer mustern mit dem rothen Buch in der Hand, so ist das Gedicht des caledonischen Sängers der unzertrennliche Gefährte der Gäste des Loch Kathrine; und kaum waren wir auf dem Schiff, als einer unserer Begleiter aus dem Süden der Insel den ersten Gang aufschlug und zu lesen begann ...

(ibid. 334)

A further quotation follows (again in German). By referring to the parallel of Baedeker's influence on the tourist trend of the Rhine, Förster keeps his perspective. The difference between him and Relistab is underlined throughout. Förster begs Scott's forgiveness that he devotes his attention not to the bare heads of Ben Venue and Ben A'an, but to his pretty, blossoming neighbour, the young American woman. This digression has none of Relistab's 'romantic' purpose, however; it serves to lead the German to reflections on the Mississippi. Förster moved with the times. Nonetheless he was happy to join in the spirit of the Loch Katrine tour, which, as he well recognised, was organised solely for the benefit of the "zahlreichen Freunde der schottischen Romantik" (ibid. 337). The coachman directs his passengers' attention to all the "Lady of the Lake" sites, and although Förster continues to quote some relevant lines (ibid. 338f.), his account sets out to convey the hectic pace, and almost farcical humour of the experience, to entertain rather than inspire his readers.

When Wichmann writes of Loch Katrine and Lomond as "die viel
besungenen und gepriesenen, auch in letzter Zeit häufig besuchten Seen" (Wichmann, 64), it does not even occur to him to mention Scott's name - it goes without saying. Later he visited Loch Katrine on foot; having already tramped the wild and uncultivated Highlands, he could fully appreciate the improvements which tourism and Scott's influence had brought to the area. This did not detract from the beauty of the place, however, and he was still able to enjoy it to the full, comparing it favourably, on account of its romantic isolation, to Switzerland (Wichmann, 68f.). Those who equated the Highlands with the Trossachs and visited only the latter, thinking they had sampled the essence of the Scottish Highlands, as portrayed in Scott, remained oblivious of Wichmann's more objective observations.

The expediency on the part of the tourist guides was sometimes too much even for a Scott lover to take. While Förster accepted his coachman's guided tour with resigned good humour, Kalckstein found this hard to accept:

Unser Kutscher, der an Unverschämtheit und Begehrlichkeit seinen deutschen Zunftgenossen wenig nachgab, liess es sich angelegen sein, durch Sagen und Mährchen aus dem Hochlande unsere Zeit zu kürzen, wobei denn Citationen aus Burnachen Gedichten und aus Walther Scott, darunter die Lady of the Lake, eine bis in die Hütte des ärmsten Schotten allverbreitete Dichtung, eine grosse Rolle spielten. Die Erscheinung des Menschen war aber so cynisch widerwärtig und trug so wenig den Ausdruck poetischer Erhebung, dass er uns allen durch seine in einem näselnden Tone abgehaspelten Impromptu's in hohem Grade langweilig wurde, aber dennoch in der Hoffnung eines guten Trinkgeldes, obwohl völlig unbeachtet, sich dem Fluss seiner einschläfernden Beredsamkeit rückhaltlos überliess. (Kalckstein, 229f.)

But Kalckstein was genuinely thrilled by Loch Katrine, both for its scenic beauty and as the setting of "The Lady of the Lake". Later, when the less obsequious steamer captain pointed out Scott sites, he did not appear to resent this:

Der Capitain machte uns auf alle die Sc_ottischen Dichtung aufmerksam, welche die Illusion des Lesers sich hier zur Wirklichkeit gestalten sieht.
Man erblickt die Stelle, an welcher nach dem Gedicht der König von der Jagd ermüdet, durch die Dunkelheit überrascht, in seinen weiten schottischen Plaid gehüllt, die Nacht zubringt und wo er die schöne Jungfrau des Sees zuerst erblickt.

( ibid., 233 )

He enjoyed the scene in the full knowledge of the discrepancy between the "Illusion des Lesers" and reality.

Ullrich visited the Trossachs five years later in 1857. He, too, was a Scott fan and was evidently familiar with "The Lady of the Lake". In describing the sight of Ben Venue against the setting sun, he immediately equates this with Scott's scene setting in Canto I, stanza 11, and on seeing the village of Landrick thinks of it as the scene of Roderick Dhu's clan gathering in Canto III (Ullrich, 393 & 394). As the steamer sails between Ben A'an and Ben Venue, he thinks of them as "die Wächter einer geheimnisvollen Pforte" ( ibid., 388 ), the gateway, we are to understand, to the romantic and alluring world of Scott:


( ibid., 388f. )
The passengers alight at the end of the loch to drive to the hotel on Loch Achray and Ullrich is stunned by the abundantly overgrown and wild scenery, "ein Landschaftsgebilde von wahrhaft überraschender Originalität" (ibid, 390). As they emerge at the other side the driver does not fail to point out the spot where Fitz-James' horse had collapsed of exhaustion, to which Ullrich adds, interestingly, that the coachman does this,

ohne zu ahnen, dass die ganze hierauf bezügliche Episode eine rein poetische Erfindung Walter Scotts ist. Das Volk lebt der Ueberzeugung, der Dichter habe nur eine alte Geschichte erzählt, die sich wirklich in diesen Gegenden zugetragen; gewiss der glänzendste Beweis für die plastische Kraft, mit der die Darstellung ausgestattet ist.

(ibid., 390)

There is much in this; on the other hand, the guides and drivers and all others connected with the tourist trade, were concerned primarily only with their client's desires and not with authenticity.

In view of the above evidence that the German travellers expected their readers to be familiar with "The Lady of the Lake", it is perhaps surprising that Fontane, only one year after Ullrich, should devote so much space to retelling the events of the poem. The very title of his chapter, "Loch Katrine oder das Land der Lady of the Lake" is telling. There was little new for him to describe, however, for the cramped coach ride and the scenery itself had already been the subject of several of his predecessors' attention. One must assume first, that he wanted to retell the plot and second, that he anticipated that amongst his readers there would be some who had either forgotten or never known the story. In his view familiarity with the poem was a prerequisite to the understanding and enjoyment of "the country of the lady of the lake":


(Fontane, 176f.)
There is no doubt that Fontane thoroughly enjoys this. His retelling of the story cannot be regarded as a digression, for it is the central point of his chapter. Fontane takes over from the coachman guide and only hands his role back to him when he wants to describe his fellow passengers' excited reaction to seeing the spot where Roderick Dhu and Fitzjames had fought. The pertinence of Kalckstein's comments on the "Illusion des Lesers" and Fürster's perception of the "einfache Scenerie" which Scott had chosen, become apparent also to Fontane:

"All dies ist sehr schön, aber doch durchaus nicht das, was die Modevorstellung der letzten fünfzehn Jahre daraus gemacht hat. Wes diesen eigentlichen Trossachs fehlt, das ist der Stempel des Besonderen" (ibid., 191). Having stated this, Fontane's praise of Scott's choice of Beal-an-Deine as the exact location for Fitz-James' meeting with Ellen is all the greater: "Die Lokalität scheint eine romantische Dichtung fast wie herauszufordern, und keine Jungfrau von See kann hier an's Land springen, ohne auf Augenblicke für die Seejungfrau gehalten zu werden" (ibid. 192).

Kalckstein's awareness of opportunism in the tourist trade is apparent to Fontane also. Yet he can laugh at the fact that everyone and everything seems to be called MacGregor: "Aber ein bisschen Absichtlichkeit und Spekulation auf hochlanddürftige "Southrons" kann man hier schon ertragen" (ibid.). On arriving at the inn at Bridge of Turk, he describes the two Scott scenes depicted on the inn sign, not merely to be able to quote from the relevant lines of poetry, and return him from the mundane world to the road to Loch Achray, but also to allow him to allude to the successful
trade enjoyed by the innkeeper. He does not ignore his fellow travellers either. They have had enough once Ellen's Isle is passed, and the simile of a dinner, where the champagne is served before the claret and the sugared water, brings him neatly to the pigeon-pie awaiting them at the inn. Fontane's work revolves round such 'respites' from the poetic world of the past. From the point of view of subject matter alone, the chapter could add nothing new; in Fontane's hands, however, with his skilled combination of past and present, poetry and reality, romance and humour, it is a complete and fresh whole.

It is surprising that there is not more mention of "The Lord of the Isles" (1815), given its setting, in the Western Highlands, and its subject matter, Robert the Bruce's return to Scotland, culminating with Bannockburn, and also the romance of the Lord of the Isles himself. It must be assumed that such an association was superfluous, since the area was thought of first and foremost as Ossian's country and was steeped in the legend and history of Scotland's more distant — and hence more "romantic" — past. Ullrich, however, made the connection when crossing the Sound of Mull which he saw as

(Ullrich, 351)

Fontane is one of the few to reveal a familiarity with "Marmion". At the site where the City Cross had stood in Edinburgh's High Street, Fontane pays tribute to the service Scott had rendered the cross in his description of it in the poem "[er hat] das alte Wahrzeichen dadurch für immer der Vergessenheit entrissen" (Fontane, 68). Later he quotes from the poem (in translation) as an epigraph to his chapter, "Linlithgow" (ibid., 121), and refers to it once more in his chapter on Flodden (ibid., 130). But these are essentially passing references. Beyond this the only poem to gain more than the most casual mention is "The Lay of the Last
Fontane was to acknowledge the popularity of Waverley in Scotland by having his Culloden guide open his tale ("Der letzte Hochlandshäuptling") with the words: "Ich sehe, die Herren kennen "Waverley", unsere Sir Walters bestes Buch; ei, da kennen Sie auch Fergus Mac-Ivor, den Bruder der schönen Flora and den Freund Prince Charlie's selber" (ibid. 250). This allusion to Scott and reminder of the novel's principal characters secures his reader's interest and attention. Ironically it was one of the reasons for the great success of Waverley which appeared to pose certain problems for the German visitors. At the time of the novel's appearance in 1814, its subject-matter, the 1745 rebellion, was still just within living memory. In pronouncing on it, the foreigner would have to take sides, and, especially for the earlier visitors, this could prove awkward. While their romantic leanings might come down on the side of the Jacobite cause, the largely Protestant background of the German visitors, let alone their political common sense, might dictate otherwise. Perhaps it is because of this that Waverley, so popular in its native country, is scarcely mentioned. One scene, however, was recalled with pleasure on many visits to Holyrood:

Die interessanteste Reminiscenz, die uns hier auftaucht, ist die an Walter Scott's "Waverley", in welchem der Dichter einen jener Bälle des Prätendenten schilderte. Der unglückliche Prinz, der kühne, treue Fergus Macivor, die edle, hochherzige Flora und die liebliche Rosa Bradwardine schweben vor den Augen unserer Phantasie vorüber. (Ullrich, 412)

Others made similar references, for instance Fontane (Fontane, 25) and Brandes, who refers to the relevant scene as that described by the "Novellendichter in Waverley" (Brandes, 73), finding a mention of Scott's name superfluous. To Wichmann Waverley was a source of interesting and detailed information concerning the Highland clans (Wichmann, 23).

Sarcely any visitor walked the High Street in Edinburgh without
mentioning the site of "the old Tolbooth, den die Leser gewiss noch aus dem Walter Scottischen Roman "das Herz von Mid-Lothian" kennen" (Ullrich, 407). Many refer to it, some in more detail than others. The novel, sometimes translated as Der Kerker von Edinburgh, was immensely popular in Germany, as Lewald shows in a remark made after a walk through the Old Town of Edinburgh:

Bei diesem, der Vorzeit nachspürenden Umherwandern galt eine meiner ersten Fragen, dem alten Tolbooth, dem Herz von Midlothian, das uns Allen in unserer Jugend wohl einer der bekanntesten Punkte Schottlands gewesen ist. (Lewald, II, 264)

The story, with its themes of love, honour, bravery and ill-fate, was well suited to the demands of the contemporary German reader of historical novels. Kalckstein refers to the Old Tolbooth specifically as the scene of one of the most exciting episodes in the novel, and having given the jail's history, tells how the bolt, lock and key are now in Abbotsford, "so sie unter mehreren an die Schöpfungen des berühmten Dichters erinnernden Merkwürdigkeiten eine hervorragende Stelle einnehmen" (Kalckstein, 198).

As Rellstab climbs the steep streets to the Castle in Stirling, he and his companion find the town itself unpleasantly dark and old, but this is made up for by the looks of the people, especially the women, whose bright, friendly and calm expressions and blue eyes remind him of his own German race:

Eine angenehme Stimme redet uns unvermutet an: Wollen die Herren nicht die Kirche besuchen?" Es ist ein Mädchen von etwa sechzehn Jahren, die uns dieses Angebot oder diese Bitte mit aller Freundlichkeit thut. Ein einfaches, hellgraues Linnenkleid, ein dunkles Halstuch sind ihr ganzer Schmuck; sie geht barfüßig; ich dachte an Jenny Deane [sic]. Jugend ist halbe Schönheit; sie fügte dieser Hälfte noch ein hübsches Theil von selbstständigen Reiz hinzu durch sanfte Linien des Profils und leichte Wangenröthe. - Natürlich folgten wir der jungen Führerin sogleich .... (Rellstab, i, 308)
It is indicative of the power of Scott's characterisation in *The Heart of Midlothian* and the effect of this on German readers, that Rellstab should think so immediately on seeing the girl of Jeanie Deans.

Of all the novels *Rob Roy* (1817) emerges as the most popular amongst the German visitors. The fact that it was partly set in the Trossachs was certainly a great attraction in itself, but the subject matter of the earlier 1715 rebellion, sufficiently distanced in time, also played a rôle in this. It should be stressed, however, that not all the visitors regarded Rob Roy in terms of Scott. Wichmann, for instance, in relating the Rob Roy story in some detail, treats it as part of Scotland's historical heritage rather than as an allusion to Scott's novel. Nonetheless Scott was very likely one of his main sources and no doubt encouraged him to think of Rob Roy while touring the Trossachs:

> Es ist die Gegend des berüchtigten Rob Roy, eines wilden, gesetzlosen Abenteurers, der hier zwischen Loch Katrine und Loch Lomond, in dieser schauerlichen Wildnis seinen Wohnsitz hatte.

> Da Rob Roy noch bis auf den heutigen Tag in Schottland in der Erinnerung als eine Art Nationalcharakter lebt, der die Furcht der Reichen war, und ein Freund der Armen, so wollen wir, während wir seine Berge durchstreifen, uns etwas von ihm unterhalten.

(Wichmann, 69)

Some ten years earlier Kohl's guide had been very anxious to put right the mistaken image of Rob Roy, and also of his wife, as portrayed by Scott:

> "Dort auf jenem En passe zwischen beiden Seen," [Lochs Katrine and Lomond], sagte mir mein Führer, "hatte Rob Roy sein "property" (Landeigenthum). Bevor er sich zum "Freibeuter" (Freibeuter) - so werden hier Rob Roy und Consorten immer genannt - machte, war er ein Viehtreiber, "and he came very well on in the droving line" (und er erwarb sich ein hübsches Stück Geld in der Treiber-Linie). Er selbst, wie Sie wissen, war ein Mac Gregor, seine Mutter aber eine Campbell. Sein Weib war, wie alle Leute hier im See, die es von ihren Grossältern wissen, sagen, "of a very quiet disposition" (von einer sehr ruhigen und stillen Gemüthsart) und keineswegs eine Frau von so hochfahrendem und heldenmüthigem Charakter, wie Walter Scott sie darstellt."

(Kohl, ii, 131f.)
Kohl was imparting material here which he presumably knew would detract from his readers' preconceived notions of Rob Roy as the romantic Scott hero. Most, however, made little attempt to look further than the novel itself:


> Walter Scott spricht mit Entzücken in seinem Roman "Robin der Rothe" vom Loch Lomond, diesem "Könige der schottischen Seen", welcher eines der überraschendsten, herrlichsten und erhabensten Schauspielen der Natur bietet."

(Ullrich, 332)

The extent to which Scott was used as a guide is shown by Rellstab. Describing the wretchedness of highland huts, he writes "ihr Ausseres ist genau so, wie Walter Scott im Robin den Rothen dessen Wohnort, das Dorf Aberfoil, schildert " (Rellstab, ii, 13). When one of his fellow passengers from Scotland proudly shows him the birthplace of Rob Roy's wife, Rellstab quotes Goethe: "siehst Du ein Hüttchen im Felde frei/Weisst nicht, ob sie Dir ein Liebchen hegt ", and the remarks which follow are revealing as to the way in which he allows Scott to influence him:


(ibid., 15f.)

The Scott enthusiast had no desire to know the less romantic side to the setting of Rob Roy.

Fontane was also to mention Rob Roy's gun and cave on his return to Loch
Lomond on board the "Macgregor", but he chooses not to elaborate on them (Fontane, 310ff.). At the time he and Lapel were distracted by the versifying Irish lady, Miss Arabella Fitzpatrick, her native "Emerald Isle" and her national poet, Thomas Moore. Later Fontane was to name other Rob Roy memorabilia on his visit to Abbotsford (ibid., 342ff.), but he shows them none of the excitement he had reserved for "The Lady of the Lake".

For some a visit to Rob Roy's cave was a highlight of their tour. Rellstab, who was of the opinion that "Alles was sich auf Rob Roy bezieht, war an ihn erinnert, hier ein Heiligthum, eine historische Reliquie bildet" (Rellstab, ii, 40), chose to make the cave the focal point of a tediously verbose, twenty-four-page chapter describing a boat excursion on Loch Lomond, "Eine schauerlich romantische Entdeckungsfahrt nach Rob Roys Höhle" (ibid.). Earlier he had recounted a conversation in which he and his fellow tourists had discussed the events of the novel while waiting for the steamer on Loch Katrine (ibid., i, 343ff.). A more digestible account of the tourists' excitement on seeing Scott sites - in this case from A Legend of Montrose and Rob Roy - comes from Lewald, who adds a touch of humour to her memory of Loch Awe:

"Hier ist das Stammhaus der Bradebane's" - "Diesen alten Thurm von Kilchurn Castle hat Dunkan Campell [sic], der Stammvater der Argyle's, gegründet! - Hier ist Rob Roy's Stein!" so rief man überall; und als wir bei der Station von Dalmally hielten, erzählte der eine Geistliche, wie alles Land um den Loch Awe einst dem Clan Gregor gehört, der von seinen Feinden, den Campbells, unterjocht und ganz zerstört worden sei, und recitirte die Verse:

"Glenorchys proud mountains, Coalchuirn and her towers,
Glenstrae and Glenlyon no longer are ours,
We're landless, landless, Gregalich!"

(Lewald, ii, 533ff.)

The humour is tempered by Lewald's own desire, despite herself, to indulge in romantic association.

There are of course references to other works by Scott, but "The Lady of the Lake", The Heart of Midlothian and Rob Roy remained the firm favourites. Brandes was frequently reminded of Scott throughout Scotland, but sometimes, as in Inverness, it was not with reference to any specific work, but merely to the sight and sound of names, familiarised by the writer (Brandes, 51). The sight of Inverary Castle, however, was to remind him of a particular work; it is
It is perhaps surprising that more mention is not made of *A Legend of Montrose* (1819), since, although it is such a gloomy tale, the Highland bandits are exciting characters, the Covenanting time in which they lived tense and vibrant, and the Royalists' leader, Montrose, a true hero. It is no surprise that Brandes should refer to Dugald Dalgetty, however: not only is he one of Scott's more vividly drawn characters, but he also has a past which would naturally appeal to a German, a good education, coupled with experience abroad serving both Gustavus and Wallenstein—perhaps it is his unscrupulous nature as an unprincipled soldier of fortune which bars more reference to him.

Familiarity with *The Fortunes of Nigel* (1822) always enhanced a visit to Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh, 61 while visits to Perth frequently drew a reference to *The Fair Maid of Perth* (1828). Fontane goes so far as to exclaim: "Was würde die Welt von Perth, wenn jenes Buch Sir Walters ungeschrieben geblieben wäre!" (Fontane, 200). Later his guide on Loch Leven attacks Scott's misrepresentation of the facts in "The Abbot"(1820) (ibid., 388). Perhaps the lack of attention paid to this novel can be explained by the Germans already having appropriated Schiller's portrayal of Mary Queen of Scots. As Ullrich crosses the River Awe by Ben Cruachan, he writes of the area as the setting for "The Highland Widow" (Ullrich, 730). It is also likely that Kohl takes much of his chapter describing the life of the cattle drovers from *The Two Drovers*, though he does not acknowledge this (Kohl, ii, 42ff.). One last work which is seldom acknowledged but evidently frequently referred to is the *Tales of a Grandfather*. Many tales told in this work are related by the Germans as they tour the country. Brandes is one of the few who does acknowledge the book as a source of information. 62 There are frequent indications of paraphrasing from
Scott in the travel accounts; to quote Scott was evidently standard practice, as it was to quote Goethe or Shakespeare, and source acknowledgments were not considered necessary. Perhaps this was also because references were often taken not from the original works, but from secondary sources such as guide books and tours. A striking example of this comes from Wichmann, who quotes a long paragraph from Scott concerning the great changes that had taken place in Scotland in the fifty years following the '45, and merely introduces it with the words, "Walter Scott sagt irgendwo..." (Wichmann, 85).

For Ziegler, in the Northern Isles, The Pirate (1821) becomes almost a vademecum.

Ziegler refers to Scott on several occasions throughout his tour of the islands. When he arrives at Fitful Head and Sumburgh Head, he cannot resist writing at some length about the novel, its characters and plot, and the people and events upon which it was based (ibid., Reise, 285ff.). Above all, he praises Scott as a reliable guide:

For travellers such as Ziegler, Kohl and Wichmann Scott's works were of practical as well as 'romantic' value.
Abbotsford

It was no chance which led Fontane to conclude *Jenssit des Tweed* with the chapter on Abbotsford. The journey there was a pilgrimage, but the outcome was undeniably a disappointment. To discover that Abbotsford really was, as Scott himself had termed it, a "romance", and, more importantly, to realise that the romance which had worked for Scott in literature and poetry appeared in "stone and mortar" to be "eine bloße Schnurre und Absonderlichkeit" (Fontane, 329) was a bitter blow. Abbotsford was merely a "Kunstkammer", a "Curiosum" of which Fontane could only exclaim, "wie verbaut!" (ibid., 337 & 334). Yet it had been Scott who had enticed Fontane to Scotland, Scott who had led him through Edinburgh and much of the Highlands, and it was therefore right that it should be with Scott that he should finish.

Most of the visitors did not undertake a proper tour of the Borders; where Abbotsford and Melrose were included on the tourist itinerary, it was normally as a day excursion from Edinburgh. The visits recorded all took place in the 1850's. In 1842 Kohl had planned to visit Abbotsford as he left Scotland, but rain and a tight schedule prevented him from doing so. It is fairly clear, however, that the visit would not have resembled a pilgrimage for him; Abbotsford's importance lay in its position, close to the historically important Melrose, Jedburgh, Dryburgh, Selkirk and Galashiels and to the meeting of the Tweed, Gala, Yarrow and Ettrick Waters:

Ohne Zweifel bestimmte diese Scott in der Wahl des Ankaufs und der Anlage seines Abbotsford, für das er bis zu seinem letzten Atemzuge eine eben so enthusiastische Liebe behielt, wie für das ganze umliegende Land, wo er beinahe jeden Fleck besungen und verewigt hat.

(Kohl, ii, 223)

Some ten years later Wichmann was also to see Abbotsford only from the outside, but this did not trouble him when the scene possessed so much natural beauty:

Es war ein wunderschöner Abend, als wir so dahinfuhren, der Mond beleuchtete die Gegend zauberhaft, als nicht weit von Melrose plötzlich in majestätischer Pracht die
Umrisse eines gewaltigen, Schlossähnlichen Gebäudes sichtbar wurden; es war Abbotsford, der einstige Wohnsitz des berühmten Walter Scott, von einer prachtvollen Natur umgeben. (Wichmann, 82f.)

Brandes and Lewald were the first to describe visits to the house itself, in 1850. Brandes took the train to Galashiels and pursued his pilgrimage on foot. He crossed the Tweed on the ferry:

Vor mir zog sich nun an einem Abhange ein Wäldchen von Eichen, Buchen, Ahorn und Gebüsch hin, an dessen oberen Rande sich der Weg fortschlängelte, und als sich derselbe wieder abwärts dem Tweed zugeführt, stand ich unerwartet vor Abbotsford. Es ist ein ganz einsam in der Tiefe stehendes Haus oder Schloss im Styl des Mittelalters, ein längliches Viereck, gross und hoch von weissen Quadern, mit zwei spitzen Giebeln in der Fronte, mit kleinen Thürmchen und dunkel:ss Schieferdächern; davor ein viereckiger Rasenplatz und ein Blumen- und Gemüsegarten, die aber nichts Gefälliges und Einnehmendes hatten. Ein Dorf ist nicht dabei. Als ich an der Thüre zur Linken die Klingel gezogen, öffnete mir eine alte Matrons in schwarzem Kleide und weisser Haube und führte mich gleich rechts in eine schmale längs der Fronte hinaufendene Halle, die ausser einigen Ritterrüstungen mit vielen Gewehren und Pistolen verziert war, darauf in ein kleines Kabinet, in welchem die Kleider hingen, die der Dichter vor seinem Hinscheiden getragen, wenn er am Morgen in der Gegend umherstreifte, ein blauer Rock mit grossen Knöpfen, gestreifte Beinkleider (Plaid trowsers), ein Hut mit breitem Rande, schwere Schuhe und ein tüchtiger Stock.

(Brandes, 66)

This attention to detail, with which Brandes continues to describe the house, shows to what extent Scott was a celebrity in German minds, and not just a celebrated writer. Brandes takes it for granted that his readers will also want to know that Scott's study was a small square room, with a desk and a black leather arm chair, with but few volumes and only one window, "recht nach meinem Geschmack, da mir ein Studiengemach mit Fenstern an mehreren Wänden sehr Missfällt" (ibid.), that the library was nearly sixty feet long with 20,000 volumes and that Scott's grandson, who now owned the house, was an army officer in Ireland and only came to Abbotsford during the summer months. Abbotsford was no disappointment to Brandes:
Das Ganze machte auf mich den Eindruck des Ländlichen, Stillen, Friedlichen, Einsamen und Behaglichen, wie ein Sitz zum Studieren für einen Freund schöner Natur.

Having seen the house, he continued to Melrose, whose Abbey ruins caused him to quote relevant lines from "The Lay of the Last Minstrel":

Ich hatte nun Sir Walters Wohnsitz gesehen, wo er lebte, dichtete und starb, aber nicht begraben war. Mich verlangte, auch seine Ruhestätte zu schauen, und diese ist weiter abwärts am Tweed, in der Abtei Dryburgh (spr. Dreiburg).... Hier in den alten, zwar weitläufigen, doch nicht mehr hohen, theilweise von dichtem Epheu umschlungenenen Mauern der vormaligen Abtei sah ich in dem äussersten Winkel des Chorganges zwei, einige Fuss hohe Gräber, oder vielmehr längliche Kisten von rothbraunen glänzend polirten Steinplatten, und daneben ein kleines. Es waren die Gräber Walter Scott's, seiner Gattin und seines Sohnes auf üppig grünem Wiesengrunde. Ich sah keine Inschrift, und wie ich glaube, keinen Namen darauf. Es sey mir vergönnt, ihnen folgende Zeilen zu weihen:

Da ruhen sie
Nach Freud' und Müh',
Vom Prunk der Welt geschieden,
In Gottes heil'gem Frieden,
Wo Baum' auf grünen Matten
Und Epheu sie umschatten,
Am Tweed mit klarer Welle,
In Dryburg's Klosterzelle.

Whatever the merit of such poetic inspiration, it seemed the only natural outcome of such an exploration of the poet's home ground.

Fanny Lewald's account is even more detailed than Brandes', and it is also more discerning; she does not feel to the same extent that she is on hallowed ground which cannot bear criticism. In her account Abbotsford comes over much more as the unique and anachronistic conglomeration of styles which was the creation of one 19th Century Romantic mind:

Dow*
die Ritterburgen auf den Theatern, an die man sein
besseres Wissen bereitwillig gefangen gibt, wenn auch
kein Baumeister der Welt den Styl zu nennen vermag,
nachdem der Dekorationsmeister die Stücke zusammengesetzt
hat. Walter Scott hat sich in Abbotsford eine steinerne
Chrestomatie nach den Bauwerken in seinen Romanen
angelegt, und darum lassen wir uns Abbotsford mit
Freuden gefallen, wie es ist.

(Lewald, ii, 291f.)

Through the use of such a specialised word as "chrestomathy", the
normally unromantic Lewald could feel justified in liking Abbotsford.
Her approval of architecture imitating literature was later to be
questioned by Fontane on his visit. Having described the entrance-hall,
with its bust of Wordsworth, she, too, mentions the show-case containing
the last clothes which Scott wore; again she justifies her mention of this:

Da ich nicht weiss, ob es Dich nicht vielleicht mehr
interessiert als mich, zu wissen, worin sie bestanden,
will ich es für alle Fälle bemerken. Es ist eine
weiss und schwarz karirte Tuchhose - nach Art der
gewöhnlichen Shepherd Plaids - eine ähnliche Weste,
gelbliche Tuchkamaschen, ein schwarzer Oberrock, dito
Halstuch, und - was Dir sicher eine Genugthuung ist,
"kein schwarzer Hut der Polizeiordnung" - sondern ein
weicher, grauer Filzhut.

(ibid., 293)

Nor do the more romantic objects in Scott’s study escape Fanny’s notice:
the chair is "aus der Eiche geschnitzt, welche einst auf Robroyetone vor
dem Hause gestanden, in dem man William Wallace verborgen hatte. Es ist
ein Weihgeschenk für Scott gewesen" (ibid., 294), and the sole pictures
are one of Rob Roy and "der schöne, schwermüthige Kopf von Cleverhouse"
(ibid.). In the library Lewald was taken with Chantrey’s bust of Scott,
a bust of Shakespeare, and in particular the full-length portrait of
Scott’s son, who was killed in India - "der schöne junge Mann sieht ganz
wie ein Franzose aus. - Die Mutter gehörte diesem Volke an" (ibid., 295);
she also notes the copies of the Roselyn Chapel carvings and the furniture
which had been a gift from George IV. A few such pages suffice to show
Lewald to be greatly in thrall to her Scott.

One expects effusive enthusiasm from Relletab in his twenty-page
account of his excursion to Abbotsford and Melrose, all the more so since it was "der erste Wandertag im schönen Schottland" (Rellstab, i, 290). Accordingly he set out from Edinburgh in high spirits:


This style is maintained throughout the chapter. Rellstab, like Fontane, readily admits to the expedition being a pilgrimage (ibid. i, 280). Bearing this in mind, it is perhaps surprising that he was not more disappointed that the house was closed that day (the tenant, Mr. Hope, being in residence) and that he was refused admission. Yet Rellstab delighted in using his imagination and it was evidently enough for him to see Abbotsford: "Es ist ein eigenes Gefühl, mit dem wir die Stätte betreten, die durch das Walten eines so reich schöpferischen Geistes zur dauernden Denkwürdigkeit geworden" (ibid., 282). To Rellstab the strange style of the house was merely indicative of British architectural ineptitude. Since he cannot describe the house's interior, he encourages his readers to think instead of Scott's life and inspiration:

Also hier in dieser tiefen, seligen Wald- und Gartenstille sind alle diese schönen Gesänge gekleist? Vielleicht unter jenen Ulmen sann der Dichter über die wunderbaren Verknüpfungen seiner Romane nach, zeichnete er die tausend charaktervollen Gestalten derselben? — Oder indem er den Laubgeng dort auf- und niederwandelt, an dem kleinen Springbrunnen sinnend weilt? — Oder saß er in dem Eckzimmer des grauen Eckthurms, das ihm den Blick weit über das Thal gewähren muss, am Arbeitstisch?

Having related that the friendly old housekeeper told him concerning Scott's surviving family, Rellstab had seen enough:

Ich sah was ich sehen wollte; ich stand auf der Stelle, wo ich stehn wollte. Ich überliess mich ganz meinen Betrachtungen, die durch die gutmütigen Mittheilungen der Alten nicht gestört wurden.
As he left the grounds he gained a finer view of the house and this enabled him to end on a high note:

Hier, wo man die ganze Parkumgebung neben und über der grauen Burg völlig übersah, erschien der Aufenthalt in seiner reizenden Abgeschiedenheit und Stille, als der glückseligste, den sich ein dichterischer Sinn nur wünschen könnte.

*ibid.*

For those who appreciated that the whole valley of the Tweed meant a great deal to Scott, the visit to Abbotsford was accompanied by a visit to Melrose Abbey. The moonlit scene of the Abbey ruins from "The Lay of the Last Minstrel" was then recalled with pleasure. That this one scene was particularly memorable is shown by Rellstab, who, in revealing that it is thirty years since he had read the poem (which had appeared as early as 1805), admits that he had mistakenly remembered the passage to be in "The Lady of the Lake" (*ibid.* 1, 271). As if in antithesis to the poem, he devotes four pages to the Abbey as he saw it in the sunshine.

In Fontane's hands the two pages which Brandes had reserved for Melrose Abbey became a whole chapter of twelve pages. The bare bones of Fontane's account can be seen in Brandes': a few notes on the Abbey's history, the quotations from "The Lay of the Last Minstrel" and the traditional verse, "The noble of Melrose made gude kail" (both of which Fontane provided in translation). To Fontane Melrose Abbey was the perfect setting for the modern traveller to imagine the past with the help of Scott. There was just enough detail left in the buildings, "dass es weder eines besonderen Geschickes noch einer besonders lebhaften Phantasie bedarf, sich die Ruine wieder als ein Ganzes zu denken und aufzubauen" (Fontane, 320). Associative 'poetic' thought was thus made simple for Fontane and it was surely this rather than the ruins themselves which brought him to his conclusion: "Sie ist nicht nur unter den schottischen, sondern überhaupt unter allen Ruinen, die ich kennengelernt habe, durchaus die schönste und fesselndste" (*ibid.*).

Supremely important to Fontane were the graves of the Douglas family, and the whole setting, introduced to him by Scott and Percy, gives him a wonderful chance to retell the story of one of his favourite ballads, "Chevy Chase". It is this story which takes up over half of the chapter.
Similarly, Fontane's account of Abbotsford is not mere description, although he does describe the rooms in some detail. Again he enjoys telling stories, first concerning Scott himself, supposedly as told him by their coachman, second concerning "Thomas the Rhymer", and third the Souters of Selkirk. In writing of the doorway from the Old Tolbooth he makes his attitude plain: "Eine Reihe von Geschichten und Anekdoten muss man stets gegenwärtig haben, um alle diese Schnurren nicht noch schnurriger zu finden, als sie ohnehin schon sind" (ibid., 336).

A natural curiosity as to the life of a great man accompanied the visits to Abbotsford. The travellers also knew that any detail or anecdote would be eagerly lapped up by their readers. Thus Lewald concentrates on the content of the family portraits in the house, stressing that only those portraits of Scott himself which conveyed "der geistige Ausdruck" were truly successful (Lewald, ii, 297). She enjoys relating the anecdote attached to the portrait of Scott's great-grandfather, Walter Scott of Lesudden, who would never shave his beard as long as there was no Stewart on the throne. Lewald's tastes reveal her to be more of a child of her time than she might herself have cared to admit: she finds the water colours of Scott's daughters, dressed as farm maids with bare feet and milk jugs on their heads, charming, as she does the rustic group portrait, "The Abbotsford Family", in which Scott, his family and retainers, are all portrayed in farming clothes. This latter picture would have been familiar to many of Lewald's readers, since a widespread engraving of it was very popular at the time. One last picture leads Lewald to an interesting comment on the portraiture of poets in Britain and Germany:

Am wenigsten gefällt mir der Kupferstich von Scott, auf dem er, die Zeitungen lesend, in seinem Studirzimmer sitzt. Es bildet den Pendant zu dem viel schöneren Bilde von Burns, in seiner Hütte, am dem alten Familientische schreibend. - Alles, was sich auf das Andenken ihrer Lieblingssichter bezieht, wird von den Engländern mit einem schönen Kultus hochgehalten und geehrt. Es existirt, so viel ich weiss, kein einziges Bild, das uns Schiller oder Göthe in ihrer Häuslichkeit und ihrer Familie darstellte. (ibid. 298f.)
Kohl was to give his readers a very different, and entertaining, picture of Scott:

Ich war sehr betrübt darüber, dass die Umstände es mir nicht erlaubten, einen Besuch in der romantischen Wohnung jenes poetischen Geistes abzustatten. "Sie können sich darüber trösten, mein Herr!" hob zu mir einer unserer Inside-Passagiere an, nachdem er der Bequemlichkeit halber sein rechtes Bein abgenommen und es hinter sich in die Wagenecke gestellt hatte, - es war nämlich ein hölzernes Bein, - "trösten Sie sich darüber, mein Herr!"

The man goes on to assure Kohl that if he has seen such places as Taymouth, Dunkeld and Dalkeith, he has lost nothing in missing Abbotsford, "dieser unregelmässige und wunderliche kleine Landsitz", which is not even to be seen exactly as Scott left it ...

"... Und am Ende begreife ich auch nicht, warum denn die Leute jetzt so ungläublich begierig hinter den Souvenirs und der Verlassenschaft Walter Scott's her sind. Glauben Sie mir, man hat den Ruhm und das Lob Walter Scott's, wie den Ruhm und das Lob aller berühmten Leute, auf eine unbegrüfliche Weise übertrieben ..."

Scott, "der sogenannte grosse Unbekannte oder vielmehr der grosse Wohlbekannte", was merely a clerk to the Writers of the Signet:

"... Habe ich ihn nicht jeden Morgen selbst aus dem Parliamentshause in Edinburgh und vom Berge herunter kommen sehen? Er hatte gar nichts von einem englischen Gentleman, nichts so Feines und Vornehmes. Im Gegenteil, er hatte ein recht grobes, gewöhnliches, altschottisches Gesicht, kleine Augen, eine recht runde, grosse, dicke Nase, die immer etwas angeschwollen erschien. Auch sah er gar nicht so klug aus, wie die Leute ihn sich immer vorstellen. Vielmehr gaben ihm seine breiten, etwas herunterhängenden Lippen etwas Dummes. Dabei ging er auf grossen Füssen und hinkte etwas. Auch bot er Einen, wenn man ihm begegnete, immer einen recht derben schottischen guten Tag. "How d'ye do, sir?" sagte er immer ganz grob heraus, indem er die ganze Kraft des Accents, wie die gemeinen Leute thun, auf das "do" legte. Das "r" konnte er eigentlich nicht gut aus sprechen, und er machte aus demselben, indem er es tief im Hintergrunde des Mundes anschlagen liess, beinahe ein "ch". Wenn er "rock" sagen wollte, so klang es fast wie "cock". Mit einem Worte, wäre der gute Mann nicht todt, und könnten Sie ihn da, so wie ich ihn Ihnen beschrieben habe, in seinem groben grünen alten Oberrocke mit grossen metal lenen Knöpfen, den er in Abbotsford zu tragen pflegte, hervorschreiten sehen, so würden Sie eher einen Farmer als einen Poeten in ihm zu erblicken glauben."

(Kohl, ii, 224ff.)
Was Kohl consciously trying to redress the balance in relating this conversation in such detail? Would his readers want to imagine Scott as a fine English gentleman, or would they prefer the less refined, even uncouth, man with a regional accent? It is likely that Kohl was simply fulfilling his duty as a reporter; where Fontanes might invent a conversation for his own purpose, such was not Kohl's method.

Leaald's thoughts took her in a different direction. She greatly appreciated the reverence with which the British treasured the memories of their poets; this, she felt was in sharp contrast to the contemporary German reaction. While on an excursion to the Borders, she and her companion, Miss Chambers, were to lose their way and find themselves in the grounds of Hawthornden. The gardener tells them how Ben Jonson had walked all the way from London to visit the poet Drummond at Hawthornden. This prompts Leaald to comment:

\[
\text{Wo irgend ein bedeutender Mann Englands geweilt hat, wird das Andenken daran als eine Ehre für den Platz heilig gehalten. Dadurch bleibt die Erinnerung an die großen Männer des Vaterlandes wach, sie leben fort im Volke, während schon jetzt in Deutschland die Stelle unbekannt ist, an der Schiller eigentlich begraben worden, und das Volk nicht zu sagen weiss, wo er, wo Fichte, Schlegel und die Humboldt's eins in Jena wohnten. (Leaald, ii, 316)}
\]

Above all, the Scott Monument in Edinburgh was seen to vindicate this veneration on the part of the British for their national poets. It is on contemplating the Monument that Rollstab bursts forth in a torrent of Scott adulation:

\[
\text{Die Geschichte des Vaterlandes weckte Dein Lied, und Dein Lied weckte die Geschichte. Und so leben sie beide jetzt im Herzen des Schotten, mag er in stolzer Carosse durch das prächtige Edinburgh rollen, oder im rauben Thal des Hochlandes die Heerde einsam weiden. Jener hat dieses Prachtdenkmal von Stein aufgerichtet, das der Wanderer mit Staunen und Ehrfurcht schaut und Dich und sich neigt; dieser trägt Dein Gedächtniss im warmen Herzen und erquickt Dich und sich damit. (Rollstab, i, 266)}
\]
Rellstab, if given to exaggeration, was at least honest. In regretting that he had only read Scott's works so many years before, when they had first appeared, he gives his readers some advice, advice of which Fontane for one was in no need:

\[\text{Wie reich die Natur des Hochlandes und die oberflächliche Erinnerung an die Vorgänge, durch die der Boden Leben gewinnt, uns dort beschenken, alle Eindrücke müssen sich verdoppeln, ja zum höchsten Grade steigern, für den, der vertraut mit diesen Oertlichkeiten und den auf ihnen gewachsenen und beruhenden Begebenheiten ist, bevor er seinen Fuss höher setzt.} \]

(\textit{ibid.} 226)

As he arrived in the Trossachs, Rellstab had exclaimed: "Nun endlich sind wir auf dem classischen Boden" (\textit{ibid.}, 336). Later, when he visited Glasgow Cathedral, thinking of the scenes from \textit{Rob Roy} which took place there, he wrote:

\[\text{Die Oertlichkeit kann nicht günstiger gewählt sein. Der schottische Dichter hat jeden Stein seines Vaterlandes zu einem classischen Punkt erhoben, ihm gewissermassen Athen und Leben verliehen, um Zeugnis zu geben von der Geschichte Schottlands ...} \]

(\textit{ibid.} ii, 97)

This idea of Scott having raised parts of his country to classical status had previously been voiced by Kohl, as he travelled from Killin to Loch Katrine:

\[\text{Diese ganze Gegend ist überall durch die schottische Geschichte, so wie durch Walter Scott's meisterhafte Darstellungen classischer Boden geworden, und man hat das doppelte Vergnügen, nicht nur an und für sich interessante, romantisch wilde Thäler und Klüfte zu durchirren, sondern auch solche, die man selber einst in dem Zauberspiegel der Einbildungskraft erblickte, und die noch jetzt täglich Hunderte und Tausende in diesem selben Zauberspiegel anschauen.} \]

(Kohl, ii, 93f.)

The final word on Scott should come from one of his greatest admirers, Fontane:
Die Fahrt nach Abbotsford war eine Pilgerfahrt, eine erfüllte Pflicht, ein Zug, zu dem das Herz drängte. Was wäre der Ruhm Scottlands ohne die Erscheinung Walter Scott's!

(Fontane, 344)
d) PRINTING, PUBLISHING AND JOURNALISM

i. Printing and Publishing

Printing, publishing and journalism were important aspects of the Scottish literary scene in the first half of the 19th Century and some of the German visitors took careful note of these. Two Edinburgh establishments were particularly well known on the Continent, the 'Edinburgh Review' and W. & R. Chambers' publishing house.

The book trade was of considerable importance in Scotland. Nemnich, to whom the British trade with foreign, especially German, books had been of great interest while he was in London, was to name various Scottish printing works and publishers on his tour of Scotland. He mentions, for instance, the first printing works in Glasgow, set up by C. Anderson in 1638, and also draws attention to Morrison's firm in Perth, who not only produce some fine editions of Scottish poetry but also the Encyclopedia Perthensis (Nemnich, 535 & 562). Nine years later, in 1816, Spiker was introduced to Mr. Ruthven, printer of the Edinburgh Encyclopaedia. Ruthven had recently invented a simple and cheap (at £45 - £60) printing press and Spiker describes it very favourably. He adds that Ruthven also produced smaller machines at £7 each, and that on his visit to the works he saw a new and ingenious copper-plateing device under construction. In addition he reports on John Clerk's diamond-engraving machine (valued at £40), also in the Encyclopaedia's printing office, and used by the artist, Moffat, who engraved the copper plates for the Encyclopaedia (Spiker, 219ff.). By the 1820's Meidinger could report on a flourishing book trade throughout the country. He writes, for instance, of three printers, two weekly papers and ten booksellers in Aberdeen, the chief of which is Brown & Company, who have 50,000 volumes on their shelves (Meidinger, Reisen, 59f.). Meidinger sees the many elegant bookshops in Glasgow as proof of the advanced state of education. He reports that there are many more book traders in Glasgow than in Edinburgh, counting twenty-five bookshops, twelve printers and several engravers (ibid. 99). In his earlier Briefe he had been favourably impressed by Edinburgh's book trade, too, writing of fifty bookshops, with forty-seven printers and one hundred and fifty presses, a situation much
altered from the year 1763, when there had been only six (ibid. Briefe, 148). The bookseller, Laing, was the only one to sell German books, but his stock was small. Maidinger saw Archibald Constable & Company as the country's foremost publisher, renowned for its clear and accurate printing and large scale projects.

The publications of two Edinburgh booksellers were to prove invaluable to Scotland's visitors later in the century. The two publishers in question were Adam Black, of Black's Guides, and Robert Chambers. Waagen was to meet Black on his visit to Edinburgh in 1850 and described him as "a most intelligent and amiable man", who presented him with a copy of his Guide through Edinburgh, "a book of profound and varied knowledge and practical arrangement" (Waagen, 279). From the years 1824, when Robert Chambers' Traditions of Edinburgh appeared, and 1832, when he and his brother William founded their publishing firm, the work of the Chambers brothers, but especially Robert, had a considerable influence on certain of the German visitors.

In 1842, having paid homage to the Old Tolbooth and Scott, Kohl was to write:

Eine andere merkwürdige schottische literarische Celebrität ist in eben dieser Highstreet, nicht weit von dem Plätze des alten Tolbooth etabliert. Ich meine das Etablissement der Gebrüder W. u. R. Chambers, deren Publicationen in neuerer Zeit eine so ausserordentliche Verbreitung und Berühmtheit in Großbritannien erreicht haben. Diese Herren sind Autoren (authors), Buchdrucker (printers), Verleger (publishers), Buchbinder (book-binders) und Buchhändler (booksellers) zu gleicher Zeit. (Kohl, 1, 64f.)

On visiting the publishing house, Kohl was duly impressed:

Wir haben, glaube ich, wenig Aenliches aufzuweisen, da es unseren "träumerischen und unpraktischen" Schriftstellern gewöhnlich völlig an dem nötigen Gran von Speculationsgeist fehlt, während in England es nicht so selten ist, den Producenten mit dem Kaufmanne in einer Person verbunden zu sehen. (ibid. 65)
Kohl's statements about the brothers themselves and their business are not always accurate, but this in no way detracts from the overall impression he gives of their admirable achievements:

Alle ihre Bücher, die sie entweder selber verfertigen oder unter ihrer Leitung verfertigen lassen, sind so gut und brauchbar abgefasst und so trefflich auf das Bedürfnisse des Publicums berechnet, dass fast alle ihre Unternehmungen glücken. ... Als treffliche und unterrichtete Kenner ihres Vaterlandes haben sie vor allen Dingen Schottland in allen möglichen Rücksichten bearbeitet und dargestellt. Sie haben eine gute Geschichte des Landes, eine umfassende Beschreibung von Schottland (Chambers' Caledonia), ein kürzeres Gemälde für Reisende (Picture of Scotland) compilirt und herausgegeben. Einzelne Theile der schottischen Geschichte haben sie besonders bearbeitet, so die "History of the Rebellion in Scotland in 1745 and 1746", alsdann die "Traditions of Edinburgh and Reskiana". Diese Werke sind so gut, dass sie zum Theil als schätzenswerthe Handbücher für die Geschichte und Statistik von Schottland betrachtet werden und in zahlreichen Ausgaben im Lande verbreitet sind.

(ibid. 65f.)

These remarks reveal not only Chambers' popularity and high quality, but also what the 19th Century foreign traveller expected of his hand-and-guide-books: fairly detailed historical and statistical facts and figures were not considered at all superfluous.

Kohl goes on to talk of other Chambers publications, the Chambers's 'Edinburgh Journal', "das auch bei uns bekannt ist, ... in welchem sie für einen sehr billigen Preis eine Menge interessanter Neuigkeiten und gut geschriebener Schilderungen, Erzählungen und Betrachtungen unter die Leute bringen" (ibid.), the Chambers' Information for the People and the People's Editions. The latter was a venture of only five years' standing at the time of Kohl's visit and he found it especially admirable that such works, by virtue of their low prices, were available to all who might be interested. He saw Chambers' most remarkable undertaking to be the "educational course", a project which for some years had been producing small and attractive volumes presenting the principles and rudiments of chemistry, geography, elocution and other useful subjects (ibid., 67).
Eight years later Fanny Lewald's interest in the Chambers concern was even more immediate, since she was staying as a guest in Robert Chambers' home. She was impressed by two aspects of the Chambers brothers' success story in particular, first, their emergence from humble beginnings, and second, their concern for the education of the people. Their business had emerged from a genuine concern for justice:

Although they were by now rich men, they were still true to their principles, in particular that the writer should come before the publisher. Like Kohl before her, Lewald was gratified by the knowledge that the Chambers had made learning and literature available to those for whom it had been inaccessible previously. Their own social origin played a rôle in this:

Of the Chambers publications Lewald names in particular the 'Edinburgh Journal', the Information for the People, and also editions of Scottish ballads and music, folk poetry, fairy tales and children's stories; she evidently did not know many, if any, of these at first hand, though she says
of them: "Alte diese Werke, für die Volksbildung eigens berechnet, sind streng deistisch und monarchisch wie die Brüder selbst" (ibid. 248). She had read little of Robert's own works but praised them nonetheless, concluding, "Es ist ein durchaus bedeutender und mir höchst merkwürdiger Mann " (ibid.). (74)

Like Kohl, Lewald visited the printing press itself and was impressed with the seven "Dampf-Schnell-Pressen"; she describes the work with which the employees were occupied, boys inserting and extracting the paper, and grown girls stitching, folding and gilding. The working conditions were very good: "Die Leute arbeiteten durchweg in hellen, gesunden Räumen, so dass man recht mit Lust der Arbeit zusehen konnte" (ibid., 249). The figures were also impressive: ten million sheets of paper were printed each year, and three million pounds annual paper tax had to be paid. The brothers themselves, however, now concerned themselves almost exclusively with editorial and literary work.

For all the Chambers' successes, there was still much to do where the education of the people was concerned and this leads Lewald on to a discussion of the correct method to be adopted:

Dabei, sagte mir Mr. Robert Chambers, habe er die Erfahrung gemacht, dass die Bücher und Volkschriften in Schottland und England in der Regel eine Volksklasse (oder soll man es Bildungstufe nennen?) höher gelesen würden, als in der, für die sie zu wirken man sie bestimmte. Fast dasselbe gelte von Kinderschriften. Es folgt also aus dieser Bemerkung die Lehre, dass man in England wie bei uns, immer noch zu viel Abstraktes, zu viel Vorausgesetztes in dergleichen Arbeiten überträgt. Wer für das Volk und die Kinder schreibt, muss nichts voraussetzen, als gesunde Vernunft. So oft ich in Deutschland Volkschriften zu Gesicht bekam, überraschte es mich stets, wie viel Wissen und wie wenig Einsicht man dem Volke zutraut, während grade umgekehrt seine Einsicht durch das praktische Leben geschärft, sein Wissen aber gering ist. Den einfachsten Satz, die einfachste Folgerung, wie die Lehre von der Gegenseitigkeit der Verpflichtungen und dergleichen Dinge, die jeder Arbeiter täglich erlebt, und die nur der Müßige vergisst, deduziert man dem Volke vor, als ob man es mit
It is a mark of Kohl's respect for the Chambers brothers that he equates them with the great Liberal reformer, Lord Brougham, who had attempted twenty years before to introduce a scheme of national education.

Much of what Kalckstein reported in 1854 on the firm of W. & R. Chambers could well be taken as a paraphrase from Kohl. Even if that is the case, as is well possible, it does not alter the high reputation which Chambers enjoyed amongst the Germans. Writing of the firm as a literary establishment of world renown, Kalckstein comments:

(Kalckstein, 198f.)

As has been pointed out elsewhere,75 Fontane was to make full use of Robert Chambers' Traditions of Edinburgh on his tour of Scotland four years after Kalckstein. In this respect, however, he was less scrupulous than Kohl, for he nowhere acknowledged this. For his part Kohl frequently acknowledged Robert Chambers as a source of information. He commonly introduced quotes or anecdotes with such phrases as "wie Herr Chambers erzählt", "sagt Herr Chambers", or "Chambers versichert in seinem Gemälde von Schottland ...." (Kohl, i, 128, 216 & 17). It is interesting to note that on visiting Edinburgh in September 1868, the publisher, Heinrich Brockhaus, intended to make only one personal visit, and that was to Robert Chambers. At the time Chambers were publishing an English edition of Brockhaus' Conversations-Lexikon.76 This serves to confirm that Robert Chambers was a figure who commanded much respect from contemporary German visitors to Scotland.
ii. Journalism

The Germans did not need to visit Scotland to learn that the Scots were famed as journalists and critics. The 'Edinburgh Review' especially enjoyed international fame and it is hardly surprising that it received frequent attention from the visitors, but other papers and journals also received some notice.

Holzenthal, in Scotland during the Napoleonic Wars, was particularly aware of the freedom of speech and of the press which the British enjoyed. He was struck by the fact that anti-Government speeches in Parliament were printed and discussed freely in the press and that this resulted in the nation as a whole gaining political insight which would have been unheard of in other states. It is clear from Holzenthal's report that he highly approved of this state of affairs (Holzenthal, 216). More detailed reports on the British press were later to come from Raumer, Kohl and, of course, Fontane, for whom the papers were a vital source of information during his extended activities as a journalist in England in the 1850's. During his visit to Scotland, however, Fontane evidently felt himself to be on holiday from journalism, for he ignores the subject in Jenseit des Tweed.

Kohl devotes two hundred pages of his Land und Leute der Britischen Inseln to the British press, providing a detailed study of all the daily, weekly and other papers and journals all over Britain, and of their management, reporting and circulation (Kohl, GB, iii, 1ff.). He gives statistics showing that until recently the distribution and publication of all papers and journals had been steadily increasing. He notes in particular a "Journalfluth" in Scotland, where there are three times as many papers published as in Ireland; it was in Scotland alone that this "Journalfluth" had continued right up to the date of writing [1844]. Raumer had previously reproduced facts and figures concerning the press throughout Britain (Raumer, 1835, ii, 226ff. & 1841, 250ff.) and Kohl adds to these. In Scotland, for instance, while 4,500,000 papers had...
been printed and distributed in the year 1636-7, by 1840-1 this figure had risen to 6,100,000 (Kohl, GB, iii, 19). Kohl's statistical survey encompasses all the different aspects of journalism; management, ownership, reporting, editing, printing, publishing, format, finances and politics. In the section "Dublin- und Edinburgh-Papers" (ibid. 22f.) he stresses the importance of the two provincial capitals in this field; of the six million papers published annually in Scotland, nearly half are in Edinburgh. In the section "Provincial Papers" (ibid. 24ff.) he reports that well over a million papers are distributed in Glasgow, a third as many in Aberdeen and considerably less in Dundee. The two main Scottish papers are the 'Edinburgh North British Advertiser' and the 'Glasgow Herald', with a circulation of 500,000 and 350,000 respectively (ibid., 42). Kohl notes that while the conservative papers were on the increase in England, this was true of the liberal papers in Ireland and Scotland (ibid., 143); he was thus witnessing the emergence of a new political pattern.

As a man of liberal outlook, Kohl was particularly impressed by the content and aims of the monthlies and quarterlies. He considered the three leading British reviews to be the 'Quarterly', 'Westminster' and 'Edinburgh'; he sympathised with the Whig tendencies of the latter and was also to single out the 'Edinburgh Medical Journal' as a publication of note (ibid., 181ff.). His praise of the Reviews was high:

For this reason the most brilliant minds of the land are brought together to write for the reviews and the result is unrivalled elsewhere. While the daily papers in England are aimed at all classes, the weeklies at the lower and middle classes, the monthlies at particular professions or walks of life, "die Vierteljahresschriften dagegen sind für die hochgebildete Crème der ganzen Gesellschaft bestimmt" (ibid., 189).

The 'Edinburgh Review' had also received attention from earlier visitors. Until 1829 Jeffrey edited the journal and during the 1820's Maidinger was to describe him in this rôle as "ein Mann von vielem Kopf und grosser Regsamkeit", also adding a personal touch regarding another of the 'Edinburgh Review's' founders, Henry Mackenzie, "der gemütliche Verfasser des Man of feeling, man of the world etc." He continues: "Er ist ein alter, hagerer Mann, voll Liebe und Gutmüthigkeit. Gewohnlich sieht man ihn, wie ein Gellert, auf einem kleinen Pferde, von ein paar Jagdhunden begleitet, durch die Strassen reiten" (Maidinger, Briefe, 148 & ibid. footnotes).

The following decade, in 1835, Isensee was to write of the 'Edinburgh Review' as one of the world's most famous journals, with a circulation of 14,000 copies a month (Isensee, 133), while Pulezky, after his visit in 1836, introduced his chapter on Edinburgh with reference to the city's critics and reviewers:

Als Rom der Mittelpunkt des Weltreiches wurde, und Jeder, der das Walten des Genies in sich verspüre, oder Thatkraft in seinen Adern fühlte, nach der Hauptstadt, die auf diese Art alles Leben den Provinzen entzog, aber selbst ewig in fiebrischer Aufregung blieb, wanderte, da ward Alexandrien der Sitz der Gelehrsamkeit, der Sammelplatz der Kritiker und Scholastiker, die hier spitzfindig philosophirten und die Meisterwerke der Schriftsteller zergliederten, während Rom mit Feuer und Schwert das gewaltigste Epos der Welt improvisirte. Etwas Ähnliches finden wir in den Hauptstädten Britanniens, und wie ich schon früher London mit Rom verglichen habe, so ist Edinburgh Alexandria, der
In fact Jeffrey had praised Keats in the 'Edinburgh Review'; it was 'Blackwood's Magazine' - which Maidinger had pronounced "zu heftig" in 1820 (Maidinger, Briefe, 148) - which had launched a vicious attack on "Endymion". This matters little, however; the important point here is that Edinburgh was recognised as a centre for literary criticism.

The Scottish reviewers also played an important part in introducing German literature to the English reading public and those who appreciated this realised, too, that Germany's literary and cultural development, even if so late in coming, could potentially exert a favourable influence abroad. Nemnich had written of the beginnings of such a trend at the turn of the century (Nemnich, 167). Thirty years later Pulszky's companion, Hailbronner, was to take this matter further. Despite considerable prejudice against German language and literature, Hailbronner saw Edinburgh to be a vital centre for the promotion of German culture. From Edinburgh he writes:

Hier hat die Wissenschaft ihren wahren Sitz, und nachdem die Initiative von hier ausgegangen ist, dass in fremder Literatur noch so Vieles für England zu lernen ist, fehlte es nur eines energischen Eingreifens der hier so allmächtigen Journale, um namentlich der deutschen Wissenschaft und Poesie vollen Eingang zu verschaffen. Es befinden sich hier mehrere tüchtige Männer, welche tief in deutsche Literatur eingedrungen sind und alles aufbieten, um ihre Landsleute von der Notwendigkeit zu überzeugen, sich genauer mit ihren gründlichen Erzeugnissen wie mit ihren zarten Blumen bekannt zu machen. Es hält schwer, diesen neuen Ansichten Eingang zu verschaffen, da der Engländer gewöhnt ist, die meisten deutschen Druckprodukte als Schwärmerei oder als Erzeugnisse träumerischer Laune zu betrachten. Für Menschen, die alles im Leben praktisch anwenden wollen, taugt freilich unsere Speculation nicht viel.
Kohl was not slow to admit to the huge British influence on German literature and society of the past, yet by the 1840's he foresaw a reversal of the roles: Germany's golden age was just dawning and she would have much to teach the English-speaking world (Kohl, GB, i, 421). He appreciated, too, that Prince Albert was playing a considerable part in popularising German language and music in Britain and that a familiarity with German literature was becoming generally more widespread; "Auch dem Reisenden stossen im Lande viele Dilettanten auf, die sich in aller Stille mit einer Uebersetzung von Schiller's Maria Stuart, oder von dessen Glocke, oder von Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen Jahre lang fleissig beschäftigen" (ibid., 426). Even though Kohl found these English translations greatly inferior to the German translations of the English classics, the significant fact was that they were available at all. Above all, it did not escape his notice that much of this new interest in German literature had come about through the influence of the journals and periodicals. As regards the individual journal publications, he states categorically: "Als Kritiker stehen seit vierzig Jahren die Schotten mit ihrem 'Edinburgh Review' an der Spitze der englischen Kritik" (ibid., i, 281).
a) THE FOLK TRADITION

i. MUSIC & DANCE

The German visitors to Scotland seldom recognised the folk tradition as a vital part of the country's cultural heritage, and of those who did most found it hard to be enthusiastic. Orally transmitted culture was a subject far removed from the interests of the majority of the 19th Century tourists. Even Fontane's extensive preoccupation with the Anglo-Scottish ballad belongs to the field of literary rather than oral culture. Surprised or disappointed by the fraudulence of Macpherson's Ossian, few of the Germans were in a sufficiently secure position to examine the genuine oral tradition as it was manifested in contemporary folk poetry, music and dance.

Classical music is a subject virtually untouched, although it did concern some of the travellers while in England. Yet classical music was not unpopular in Scotland; in the 1820's Maidinger wrote of the Scots' love of music and song, especially Italian music and Mozart (Maidinger, Reise, 28), while the favourable reception which met Moscheles in Edinburgh in 1828 confirms this. In addition there are many references amongst the German journals to house parties where the drawing room entertainment comprised piano playing and the singing of songs, often of Scottish character and subject-matter. At the same time there are frequent passing remarks to the effect that the British lack any musical sense or appreciation. Raumer, for instance, writing from Glasgow, was to comment that no amount of music lessons or practice could make up for this lack which was taken to its extremes on the Sabbath and which he felt keenly throughout the country: "nicht bloß die Spitzbuben schweigen gezwungen in den Gefängnissen, das ganze Volk schweigt (in musikalischer Bedeutung) ..." (Raumer, 1835, 11, 388). Continental supremacy on this
score was taken for granted. Of course most of the Scottish visits took place during the summer, 'out of season', when there was little evidence of concert entertainment in the cities and towns. In the country, on the other hand, the travellers had neither knowledge of nor introduction to the world in which oral culture flourished. There remain chance encounters with the pipes and fiddle, dancing and singing.

There was one annual musical event in Edinburgh which, although far removed from opera, was at least recognised and attended by two of the German visitors, Meissner in 1817 and Meidinger in 1824. This was the "Competition of Bagpipers", or "Competition of the Great Highland Bagpipe". Meidinger's reaction shows how far removed Scottish piping and dancing was from his understanding and appreciation, although his boredom is easily excused when one learns that the event lasted for several hours:

Die wilde, eintönige Musik des Dudelsacks (die wohl für die freien Berge, aber nicht einen engen Saal berechnet ist) wird man aber bald satt, und eben so die Tänze (reels), die zwar munter und unermüdlich, aber doch ein ewiges Einerlei sind, und wobei die Hauptkunst darin besteht, nur zu hüpfen, und sich im Kreise rasch herumzudrehen.

(Meidinger, Reise, 30)

Meissner had earlier given a fuller, five-page description of the event, in which he once more reveals himself to be a true Scotophile. He writes of the prizes and that the overall champion wins an ornate set of pipes, and he evidently approves of the Highland Society's motives for running the contest, for the good of the country and to promote the arts and national antiquities. He is at pains to report fully on every aspect of the contest, writing first of the pipes as an instrument and of the fact that they are different from the Bohemian equivalent, with a wider range of compositions written for them. He stresses, too, that the pipes have a unique power over the Highlanders, though he acknowledges only the pibroch's martial and not funerary significance:

Der schottische Dudelsack ... ist bekanntlich das kriegerische Instrument der Berghochten. Sein Ton begeistert sie in der Schlacht, und indem die Melodie der pibroche (Kampflieder) in ihrer Seele alle die Heldengröße der Vorfahren zurückruft, werden sie dadurch mehr zur Tapferkeit entzündet, als die
kunstreichen Reden oder Gesänge so zu thun vermüchten.
Man erzählte mir darüber einige zührende Beispiele.

(Meissner, 206)

He proceeds to relate some of these stories, set during the American Wars of Independence and the recent war in Spain, and also comments in a footnote on the uncertain origin of the pipes, quoting from his source reference, volume one of Alexander Campbell's *Albyn's Anthology*, and adding: "Dass ursprünglich die Harfe und nicht der Dudelsack die alten Kaledonier zu Kämpfen begeisterte, weiss Jedermann aus dem Ossian" (ibid., 207, footnote). Over thirty years later Wichmann, on hearing "die schwirrenden, gellenden Töne eines Dudelsacks", was to recognise "die wilden, kriegerischen Töne" as a pibroch, also acknowledging the emotional ties attached to the tunes by the clans (Wichmann, 72), but such mentions are infrequent. When Spiker had the Marquess of Breadalbane's piper play for him in the inn at Kenmore in 1816, he could not stand the noise for long, even though he knew that the man had an excellent reputation and had won his ornate set of silver-inlaid pipes at the annual Edinburgh competition (Spiker, 244). Even when Walter Scott himself impressed on Moscheles that the power of the pipes on his fellow countrymen was great indeed, the musician remained more interested in his host than in what he was telling him:

"And how do you like my cousin the piper?" fragte er mich. "You know, we Scotch are all cousins." ... Ich konnte mich freilich nicht für die Sackpfeifer begeistern, und das hatte er vermutet, meinte aber, der Effekt dieser Nationalmusik auf eingeborne Bergschotten sei wunderbar; sie stürzten sich in den Strassen Edinburgs dem herumwandernden piper nach, und im Kriege sei eben diese Musik bis zum Todesmuth begeistert. "You should hear my cousin the piper play and sing the Pibroch o' Donald Dhu, but with the gaelic words." ... Dieser Text gehörte dazu, damit Feuer durch alle Adern ströme, aber die Melodie allein sei auch schon fortreissend. Er fing an, sie zu singen, und schlug dabei mit dem Stock, den er nie weglag, den Takt auf den Teppich, meinte dann aber, es ginge nicht recht, er singe zu schlecht; eine eben eingetretene Cousine müsse mir oben die Melodie vorspielen. Wir gingen hinauf, sie spielte mir das Motiv, ich improvisierte darüber und gewann mir das jugendlich friese Herz meines Wirthes. Es mussten mir immer mehr schottische Weisen gespielt werden, ich musste sie spielen, variiiren, verweben, verflechten. Endlich schieden wir nach glücklich verlebten Stunden....

(Moscheles, 187?)
For all his musicianship, Moscheles here shows little interest in the national melodies themselves. The following year his pupil, Mendelssohn, was to display a similar attitude during his tour of Scotland and Wales: "Nur keine Nationalmusik! Zehntausend Teufel sollen doch alles Volkethum holen!" (Mendelssohn, Hensel, 264). The cry was half in jest, but it emphasises the fact that the two musicians' Scottish compositions should not be equated with the traditional Scottish music.

The Scotophile, Meissner, on the other hand, was quite unwilling to belittle any evidence of Scottish folk tradition, and there is no doubt that he was genuinely moved and excited by the occasion of the Bagpipe Competition and accordingly annoyed by the reaction of the 'Sassenachs' in the audience. His account is quoted at length, since it reveals so clearly the attitude which he took to his Scottish visit:

Dieser Wettkampf wird in dem Schaupielhause gegeben, und die Bewerber kommen dazu oft von den entferntesten Theilen von Schottland oder seinen Inseln; sie erscheinen in ihrer hochländischen Tracht, die Schenkel zur Hälfte mit dem Kilt bedeckt, und die Füsse bis untere Knie mit der hose einer Art von Strümpfen, auf denen sich weisse und rothe Streifen so durchkreuzten, dass sie Rhomboeder bilden; ihre Waffen hängen an der Seite, und den Plaid (eine Art von Mantel) tragen sie in schöne Falten gelegt, auf dem Rücken. So kamen sie auf die Bühne, und Jeder, indem er stolz auf und ab ging, spielte seine Weise. Obgleich der hochländische Dudelsack seiner schmetternden Töne wegen nicht ein Instrument ist, das für einen geschlossenen Raum taugt, dass aber wie ich es später häufig in den Gebürten hörte, dort in der gehörigen Entfernung eine grosse Wirkung thut, so werde ich dieses Konzerts mich stets lieber als jedes anderen erinnern. Zudem haben jene Schlachtwaisen wirklich etwas ausserordentlich begeistertes; man meint in ihnen zu vernehmen, wie die Scharren zusammenberufen werden, wie sie sich sammeln, und wie im Gewühle der Schlacht die Massen sich trennen und wieder finden. So wie die oszillischen Gesänge haben auch diese Melodien sich durch Tradition vom Vater auf den Sohn vererbt, und beide haben einen gleich originellen Charakter. Diese Musik wechselte mit Volkstänzen ab; bald war es der Reel [Reel?], wo zwei Paare sich stets durchkreuzten, bald der Strathspey-dance, wo zwei Tänzer in Bockspringen und lustigen Bewegungen aller Glieder gegen einander sprangen. Oft flog da zwar der Kilt so hoch, dass man ziemlich weit die nackten Glieder sehen konnte, indessen erregte dieses bloß bei den anwesenden Engländern
As for the laughing English in the audience, Meissner puts them in their place in a footnote:

Unsere Scheu vor dem Nackten ist bloß eine Folge unserer Sündlichkeit. Bei der hochländischen Männertracht erscheinen häufig Theile enthüllt, die wir sorgfältig verbergen, und doch herrscht unter keinem europäischen Volke diese Reinheit der Sitten wie hier, und nirgends sind die Haushaltungen glücklicher. (ibid., footnote, 209)

In a section of his Land und Leute der Britischen Inseln entitled "Spott und Liebesnamen" (Kohl, GR, i , 273ff.), Kohl points to the fondness on the part of the English of making fun of the Scots. The English enjoy making fun of themselves, but they also love to ridicule their northern neighbours and Kohl gives several examples of this. As ever, Kohl is careful to give both sides to the picture and in doing so, he affirms the worth of traditional Scottish music in the following section, "Poesie und Prosa":

Die "Scotch tunes" (schottischen Volkslieder und Volksmelodien) sind von so ausgezeichneter poetischer Kraft, dass, wenn man in den Theatern von London eine derselben in einer italienischen Oper einschaltet, selbst das englische Publicum davon zu Thränen gerührt wird. Und die Schotten werfen daher mit Recht zuweilen die Frage auf, ob es noch irgend eine Nation in der Welt gäbe, die so reich an Volksliedern sei wie die ihrige. (4) (ibid., 279)

Kohl goes on to write of the Scot, Thomson, who had pioneered the collecting of Scottish traditional music and given popular concerts in London from 1722, and he reports, too, that at the time of his own visit, in 1842, "ein berühmter Schotte", whom he himself had heard, but whose name he had unfortunately forgotten, was travelling the country giving illustrated lectures of Scottish poetry and song.
It was on visiting Stirling Castle that Kohl gave something of his own reaction to the pipes. He heard their sound in one of the Castle halls and went to listen. He comments on the difference between the Irish and Scots instruments, the latter being louder and more shrill, "besonders die, welche dazu bestimmt sind, den Donner der Schlachten zu übertönen" (Kohl, i, 123). Each regiment, he reports, has twelve sets of pipes, each company two, and these instruments are fashioned with great elegance. He continues:

Die Schotten sind in die Töne dieses ihres Nationalinstruments ausserordentlich verliebt. In Edinburgh hört man an allen Strassen ecken die Dudelsäcke spielen. "Wenn wir den Dudelsack in der Schlacht hören, then we go through the very Devil"..., sagte mir der Corporal, der uns die an der Wand hängenden Dudelsäcke zeigte und uns einige Melodisen darauf vorspielte.

Later, on describing the Royal Visit to Taymouth Kohl was to write of the tradition amongst the great Scottish families of having a "Hausdudelsackpféifer", a post as important as head gardener or head groom. He regrets that he himself was unable to hear the Breadalbane piper, famed throughout the land, since the man had recently been hurt by a stag on a deer hunt. This time, however, he admits that the pipes sounded "ausserordentlich scharf und durchdringend" and were much better heard outdoors (ibid. ii, 19).

Carus was to express this view with great vehemence on his British tour two years later. He first met with the pipes one evening at dinner, while staying at Windsor Castle:


(Carus, i, 139f.)
Even in their native country, the pipes were scarcely to be tolerated. At Taymouth the King's party was treated royally, especially at dinner, whose excellence was marred only by the shrill, nasal tones of a piper. Afterwards the relief of hearing the pianist, Miller, playing Beethoven was short-lived, "denn der Lord wollte den König das Schauspiel eines schottischen Nationaltanzes nicht entbehren lassen und hier gehörte nun freilich der Dudelsack ohne Widerrede hinzu" (ibid., ii, 266). Several Highlanders came into the room, and one, a young man in full costume, demonstrated the sword dance:

Mit einem gewissen Rhythmus stampfte er schnell und schneller mit beiden Füßen den Boden, herüber und hinüber über die Schwertspitzen, ohne sie zu berühren, warf die Arme in die Luft und gab bald das Bild eines zum Kampf Stürzenden bald eines sich Schützenden. - Endlich fasste er die Schwertspitzen wieder, schwang sie über den Haupt und verschwand. - Das Ganze hatte etwas Wildes aber durchaus Volksthümliches und Uraltes, was mich lebhaft erregte, die Bewegungen des Knaben waren so mutig und scharf, man konnte nicht ohne Theilnahme bleiben. - (ibid.)

The others then gave a demonstration of a reel, which reminded Carus of tribal dances from New Zealand and elsewhere. Less offensive, the dances at least enabled Carus to reflect on their origin:

In der lebhaftesten Aufregung entfuhr ihnen ein jauchzender stossweiser Gesang, dann immer neue Heftigkeit des Stampfens der Füße, Werfens der Arme und des Vor- und Zurückweichens. ... Man musste das ganze Interesse für die Volksthümlichkeit Schottlands mitbringen, um all diesen Bewegungen und Klängen mit Aufmerksamkeit folgen zu können. (ibid. 266f.)

Others heard only itinerant pipers, presumably of varied ability. Often, like the fiddlers, they chose, or were hired, to perform on the tourist boats. It was on Loch Katrine that Ullrich first heard the pipes, played by an old man on board the steamer. His account is interesting, since he attempts objectivity but cannot hide his own personal distaste for the music, however much he tries to relate it to his Highland surroundings. Yet he does attempt to fathom the music itself and although he does not care for it as music, its very strangeness lends it a poetic quality he had been given to expect:

(Ullrich, 388)

The sound is almost too exotic to evaluate in a 'serious' romantic vein. Similarly, five years earlier, in 1852, while sailing on Loch Lomond, Kalckstein had found the obligatory pipe music to be interesting as a primitive curiosity, but unenjoyable musically:

Ein seltsames Concert wurde uns durch die Musik einiger Sackpfeifen bereitet, diesem wunderlichen nationalen Instrument, das durch die Compression der Luft, die aus einem lederen Beutel in ein clarinettartiges Blasinstrument einströmt, zu wachsender Stärke anschwellende Lauten hören lässt, die dann in ein unbestimmtes jodelndes Alternieren umschlagen, das aber weder eine bestimmte Melodie noch überhaupt einen musikalischen Gedanken hervorbringt. Dennoch ist diese noch nicht über die Kindheitstufe hinausgekommene Musik in Schottland allgemein beliebt und sogar ein wesentlicher Bestandtheil der Militärmusik der schottischen Hochlanderegimenter.

(Kalckstein, 234)

In his account of sailing on the steamer, "Marmion", on Loch Lomond, thirty years before Kalckstein, Löwenthal had left his reader in no doubt as to his opinion of pipe music, which he himself found definitely dispensable: "Es ist bemerkenswert, dass zur Vervollständigung der Annehmlichkeit einer Wasserfahrt hier durchaus Musik unverlässlich scheint" (Löwenthal, 95).
There was an Irish piper on board who played both the Irish and Scottish pipes, and although Löwenthal freely acknowledges the worth of national folk music, he is sure that the pipes can only be bearable from a distance.

As for fiddle music,

Auf dem Dampfboot der Clyde befand sich ein Fiedler, der die wenigen gesunden Ohren der Gesellschaft mit einem Cyclus misstöniger Weisen jener Hochlandstänze (Highland-reels) zerriss, welche unter dem Namen Ecossaises und mit einigen Modifikationsen, vor wenigen Jahren auf dem Continent so allgemein waren. (ibid.)

Löwenthal was not alone in finding such 'occasional' music irksome.

In 1850 Brandes showed what is perhaps the typical reaction on hearing a piper on board the steamer to Oban. The listener has reservations about the music, but he has to admit that the performer cuts a fine Highland figure: "ein grosser, kräftiger, kerniger, stemmiger Mann, mit blondem Haar, dickem Gesicht und glühenden Wangen, in gelblich braunem kariertem Weiberrock, dem sogenannten Kilt, und dem grauen Plaid, welches wie eine breite Scherpe über die rechte Schulter gezogen und an der linken Hüfte zusammengeschnürt herunterhing, mit nackten Knien und Beinen, nur an den Füßen Kamaschen und Schuhe" (Brandes, 47). The extent of Scott's influence is shown in Brandes' misleading statement that the man was playing "die alte durch Sir Walter auf's neue in Erinnerung gebrachte Bagpipe" (ibid.). Having described the manner in which he plays and the sound of the music (not without the assistance of a quotation from Virgil), Brandes continues:

Mit dieser Musik begleitete er die von ihm aufgeführten Bardentänze und Darstellungen von Schlachtenszenen der altschottischen Helden, jetzt ernsten und langsamen Schrittes eingeschriebend, jetzt plötzlich wie verzückt oder in Raserei verfallen laufend und auffspringend und danach die flötenartigen Töne mässigend und verstärkend; und das trieb er stundenlang mit glühendem Gesichte fort, ohne dass er nach Beendigung seiner Rolle bei den Zuhörern eine Belohnung einsammelte, woraus ich vermutete, dass er von dem Schiffsherrn dafür bezahlt wurde. Der Seekapitän zeigte grosses Behagen daran und versuchte mir die verschiedenen Darstellungen zu erklären. Es war allerdings interessant anzusehen, aber die Dudeltöne hatten doch auf die Dauer gar zu viel Einförmiges. (ibid., 47f.)
Although the spectacle was attractive, and the idea of the performance appealing, the music itself was neither.

When Kohl's guide tells him of the performance staged for Victoria at Taymouth, when the glen was illuminated by 60,000 lamps which had been specially imported from London, he stresses the fact that the dancing display on the lawns was accompanied by no less than ten pipers (Kohl, ii, 18). The fact that dancing, piping and fiddling were all vital ingredients of the Scottish musical tradition was naturally apparent to all those who witnessed the performances of musically accompanied dance. Those who found it hard to accept the unfamiliarity of pipe music and Highland dancing were on the whole better equipped to cope with the sound of the fiddle, which, after all, was as important a traditional instrument as the pipes. On the steamer to Iona and Staffa the captain had engaged some blind fiddlers to entertain the King of Saxony and his party. These musicians began their recital with "God Save the Queen", and continued with a selection of traditional Scottish melodies. Aided by the setting, Carus' reaction was quite different from his attitude to the pipes:

One tune so affected him that his eyes filled with tears and he asked for an encore; one of the fiddlers told him its name, "My gloomy winter yet is gone"[?]. When one learns that a further tune which moved him was entitled "Rosa's [Rousseau's?] Dream", which reminded him of the chorus of the fourth act of "Armide", it becomes clear that it was not in fact the 'scottishness' of the music which had moved him, but the melancholy strains heard against the romantic setting. This scene contrasts sharply with the good-humoured and down-to-earth mischief surrounding "Bobby", the blind fiddler whom Fontane encountered on the steamer up the Forth (Fontane, 153ff.). The fact that Fontane in all probability invented this scene does not detract from his appreciation of the rôle which folk song can play in the life of a nation. Where Fontane fell short was in his lack of musical appreciation.
Kohl's guide to Loch Katrine was introduced to him as the best fiddler in Killin and he tells him that he has played for dances throughout the Highlands, and from these travels can report that Highland dress and customs are still widespread in the glens. Since Kohl as yet had never seen a reel danced, he asks the man to describe one. The latter's explanation hardly clarifies Kohl's uncertainty and all that he can gather is that a reel is danced by two lads and two lassies "Who keep constantly tact to the tune and make their manoeuvres ... and then they go through the figure of ächt" (Kohl, ii, 90f.). The fiddler marks out the "eight" in the sand at the roadside and Kohl reproduces the illustration in his text, concluding that the description had shown the primitive nature of the Highland dance. He adds in a footnote that after having seen reels danced on several occasions afterwards he can only agree with his first impression.

Kohl also asks his fiddling guide if the harp, which he himself had seen so frequently in Ireland and Wales, is common in Scotland. The man answers that in all the years in which he had lived and travelled in the Highland glens the only place he had ever seen a harp had been in Glasgow. Kohl's conclusion is typically objective:

Es ist dies merkwürdig, und es fragt sich daher, ob wir uns bei den schottischen Barden nicht alle Harfen wegdenken und nicht auch die Harfe aus Ossian streichen müssen, insofern wir nämlich darunter einen schottischen und nicht einen irischen Ossian verstehen. Jene Bilder und Kupferstiche, die wir von den auf Harfen spielenden Osianischen Heldengeistern gemacht haben, passen ganz auf Irland, nicht aber auf Schottland.

(ibo, 92)

Only Kohl would entertain the idea so readily that the German preconception of Ossianic bards was a misrepresentation. The harp was of course played in Scotland, and this was attested by Wichmann, who was entertained by the daughter of his Loch Carron host with traditional songs which she accompanied herself on the clarsach (Wichmann, 44). Kohl, however, always made a great point of reporting facts as he was told them by native Scots, and as such his account is of lasting value. The following exchange is typical:

Mein Kutscher sagte mir, der Clan, aus dem er wäre, heisse...
"Dschuer," as asen nur noch wenige von diesem Stämme und Clan vorhanden. Ich fragte ihn, ob er wohl alte ersische Gesänge wisse, und er sagte mir unterwegs mehrere derselben vor. Ich verstand natürlich kein Wort davon, und als ich ihn fragte, was der Inhalt wäre, antwortete er: "All these songs contain a great deal about love and in that way... Now they do not make up so much poetry as in the olden time".

( ibid., 1, 220f. )

Some thirty years earlier Holzenthal had reported from the Borders that the reel (as opposed to the English and Scottish "country dances" which had recently become popular in Germany) was the favourite dance of the ordinary people. He likened the dance to the "chaine" and recognised that, despite its simplicity, the steps demand considerable flexibility and subtlety if one is to dance it well, and, moreover, its high speed renders it physically demanding. The popularity of dancing was to surprise him:

Was man indess kaum bei dieser schwerfälligen Nation vermuten sollte, ist die durchgängig bei beiden Geschlechtern herrschende Leidenschaft für den Tanz. Jede sich nur irgend darbietende Gelegenheit, diese Lieblingseignung zu befriedigen, wird ergriffen.

(Holzenthal, 217)

Few, however, had the opportunity to witness such traditional recreation at close hand. The following decade Meidinger, in giving a character sketch of the Highlanders, was to write of their love of the pipes, of dancing reels and of listening to ballads, but he gives no examples (Meidinger, Reisen, 86). Hailbronner was to be less concerned with producing the facts as he actually saw them and he made free use of both pipes and dancing in his evocative description of a Saturday evening scene in the Old Town of Edinburgh. All the senses are used to take in the scene, the Italian voices, the gas lamps and, above all the music: "Aus dem fröhlichen Markte tönte aber in allen Straßen die ewige schottische Bagpipe, der Dudelsack, hervor, der in schillenden, dem Schotten so theuren Tönen manch lustiges Paar zum Tarantella ähnlichen Tanze treibt" (Hailbronner, 335). It is more than likely that Hailbronner did indeed hear the pipes and watch dancing, but at the same time, it is typical of his style that, like Fontane, he should use such activities to evoke the desired atmosphere.

There were not many who reflected on the folk character of the music they heard, but Förster was to do so while staying with his friends in St. Leonards-on-Sea. One evening the daughters of the family played Scottish, Welsh, Roman and Bavarian airs, songs and marches on the piano, mandolin and zither.
Förster's comments show both an awareness of national identity, as expressed through music, and also an appreciation that neglect of such heritage can potentially lead to its total loss:

For the majority, however, present enjoyment was scarce where Scottish music was concerned. Just as Schinkel objected to being woken up by the pipes outside his window in Tobermory (Schinkel, iii, 106), Carus could not overcome his dislike of the sound, however distant, and however romantic the setting:

While Carus may have represented the attitude of the majority, namely that Scottish traditional music and dance was all very well in theory, but fell well short of romantic expectations in practice, there was at least one visitor who accepted the reality for what it was. Where Carus had considered the pipes to be a rude intrusion into his privacy, Meissner, in a comparable passage describing an evening journey in the Highlands, accepted the sound of the instrument, however foreign to him, as part of the romantic country he had travelled to see:

Das Andenken dieses Abends, als eines der genussreichsten meines Lebens, steht lebhaft in meiner Seele; die Formen der Gebirge wurden immer unbestimmter und hörbar der Anschlag der Wellen des Sees, und auf eine ganz eigene Weise klagend erschollen aus einem fernen Thale die Töne des Dudelsacks.

(Meissner, 245f.)
ii. FOLKLORE AND BALLADRY

Fontane stands alone in his appreciation of Scottish folklore and balladry. Others made only passing comments concerning the mystique of the old legends and poetry. Naturally it is often hard to draw the line between history and legend, fact and folklore, but even so it was only Fontane who saw Scotland as the home of so many ancient ballads. Most of his countrymen could not see beyond Scott and Ossian. In Kohler's words, "so war auch bei ihm die Bewunderung von Macphersons wirkungsvoller Ossianpoesie nur das Vorspiel zu der tiefen und fruchtbaren Beschäftigung mit Percys Sammlung echter angelsächsischer Volksdichtung" (Kohler, Die Balladendichtung im Tunnel, 171).

It is not the place here to discuss Fontane's ballad adaptations and translations, a subject which has been thoroughly researched by the critics. Instead the use to which he put the ballad material in Jeneit des Tweed can be considered, and a few isolated comments made by some of his fellow travellers also deserve attention. Ossian apart, it can be safely said that for the majority of the German visitors to Scotland any introduction to the world of folklore and balladry came through the guides and handbooks. Beyond the curiosity roused by a few matters of topical interest, such as second sight and the origin of vitiﬁed forts, local tradition was evidently not a subject of general interest. Even the meticulous observer and collector, Kohl, only approached the topic incidentally, in connection with old rhymes and sayings he had heard, such as "A link o' the Forth / Is worth an earldom o' the North", or the verse beginning "Lothian lads are black wi' reek" (Kohl, i, 125 & ii, 222). Fontane, too, was to repeat several such rhymes. Some, notably Carus and Ziegler, commonly introduce anecdotes with the words "der Sage nach", but by and large these can be seen to have their place in the discussions on literature, history and religion. Pulszky, for instance, was to show considerable interest in the comparability of Christian and Egyptian myth while on Iona (Pulszky, 153), and from Shetland, Ziegler was to write of the supposed site of the Jarlehof of Magnus Troll, who was said to drink brandy like water, but his introduction to Magnus had come through Scott's novel, "The Pirate". At the same time he reported that the Shetland women were said to have learnt
their knitting skills from the ship-wrecked Duke of Medina Sidonia in 1566, yet this, even if only a legend, is primarily of historical interest to him (Ziegler, Bilder, 360). Similarly, from Orkney, he tells of the legend of the wreck of one of Agricola's boats on the rocks of Shapinsay (ibid., 169). Carus, when visiting Cawdor, had written of the discrepancy between the opinion of historians and local tradition, regarding the possibility that Macbeth might have murdered Duncan at Cawdor rather than Inverness, but again this was a subject to which he was introduced by Shakespeare (Carus, ii, 251). Yet Cawdor also provided him with a legend which did not relate to Macbeth, namely that of the gold-laden donkey and the hawthorn tree, and Carus tells it with pleasure (ibid., 252). This was one of the many tales to be found in the guide-books; other such stories were less easy to come by. When Carus asked why the "Fairy Hill" by Inverness was so named, his guide's reaction put an end to his curiosity: "Er schien dergleichen für zu absurd zu halten um darauf zu achten" (ibid., 247). On the other hand, the man was quite happy to talk at length of Macbeth.

As for the ballads, only Huber showed any knowledge or enthusiasm even approaching that of Fontane. As his boat was nearing Leith after a stormy two-week passage from Hamburg, the captain pointed out the Cheviot Hills in the distance, and Huber comments afterwards:

Wenn ich etwas weniger seeckrank gewesen wäre, so hätte ich das sehr romantisch finden und für ein gutes Omen halten können; ich versuchte auch, einiger romantischen Gefühle Herr zu werden, und fing an:

The Percy of Northumberland
And a vow to god mayd he
That he wolde hunte in Chiviots hills etc.
Weiter bracht' ich's aber nicht ...

(Huber, 877)

Jenseit des Tweed is built round Fontane's retelling of history and anecdote, whether gleaned from Percy, Scott or Chambers. As Jolles points out, regarding the ballads,

In Jenseit des Tweed an attempt is made to interpret and compare various versions of the old ballads in their relation to each other and to history, but Fontane is here following, at times even verbally, Scott's Minstrelsy, and is not original.
The importance lies in the fact that Fontane came to Scott by way of Scott's occupation with old popular poetry, an aspect of Scott which was less known in Germany than his novels.

(Jolles, Theodor Fontane and England, 98)

This is an important difference between Fontane and his fellow travellers in Scotland. He was not concerned with accuracy or authenticity, but he was deeply concerned that he should be able to penetrate the spirit of the past. Some years later, in a letter to his sister, Elise, he was to write:

Wahr braucht es ja nicht zu sein, der "Volksmund" hat das Vorrecht zu lügen, soviel er will, es heißt dann "Sage" und wird von den Gelehrten oder Käuzen meines Schlages mit höchstem Respekt behandelt.

(Fontane, 12.12.1873, quoted in Nürnberger, Der frühe Fontane, 59)

Thus, in Jenseit des Tweed, Fontane makes use of the spirit of Scottish balladry. Of the traditional poetry he alludes to, one can name "The Four Maries", "The Flowers of the Forest", "Sir Patrick Spene", "Chevy Chase" and "Thomas the Rhymer". His method can be ascertained by looking at his treatment of just one of these, "Chevy Chase". Nürnberger's words regarding Fontane's retelling of the plot of "The Lady of the Lake" - "mit einer innigen Liebe auch zum kleinsten romantischen Detail" (Nürnberger, Der frühe Fontane, 252) - can be seen to apply here also. Fontane's enjoyment in relating the events of the ballad is apparent from the outset, but he does not stop there, for he goes on to consider the historical events of the Battle of Otterburn:

Die Chevy-Chase-Ballade und ihre Fictionen haben nahezu den zu Grunde liegenden geschichtlichen Hergang vergessen gemacht und doch steht derselbe an innerlich-poetischer Macht kaum hinter der Erfindung der Dichtung selbst zurück.

(Fontane, 323)

Thanks to this "innerlich-poetische Macht", he tells of the historical events with as much relish as the story of the ballad. The significant fact here is is that Scott's "gesunde Romantik" led him to both sides of the picture. 10

The names "Percy" and "Douglas" had had a magical effect on Fontane for several years before his Scottish visit and it is this evocative power of the names of the ballade which pervades Jenseit des Tweed. Even when the disappointment of reality is great, as with Fontane's introduction to York, humour and imagination come to his rescue:
Das war also York! ... So gehen uns die Wünsche unserer Jugend in Erfüllung. Stattdessen ein Bahnhof und statt des Platzes, drauf Percy starb, eine Restauration mit doppelten Preisen.

(ibid., 7f.)

By frequently returning to the present, albeit briefly and often light-heartedly, Fontane keeps his version of the past alive, with its folklore and legend as important as history, whether Edinburgh ghost stories, traditional rhymes or ballad poetry. Past and present coexist and that is enough for Fontane:

Archibald Bell the Cat lebt nur in Lied und Sage noch, selbst die Stelle, wo man ihn zur Ruhe gebracht, ist unbekannt, aber das alte Douglasschwert, das in seinen Händen zu neuem Ruhm kam, sei's im Kampfe gegen die Feinde seines Landes, sei's gegen die Kilspendie's, die seiner eigenen Ehre zu nahe traten - dies alte Schwert ist noch vorhanden.

(ibid., 83)

In Fontane's Scotland, history and legend were interdependent and both possessed that intrinsic poetic truth which was vital to him.
b) HISTORY

Die schottische Geschichte wimmelt vielleicht mehr als die jedes andern europäischen Landes von Gewalttätigkeiten, blutigen Fehden, Überfällen, Mordthaten und Hinrichtungen. Auch findet man schwerlich anderwärts auf einem so kleinen Terrain eine solche Menge von alten Schlossruinen, die ebensoweniger die Ausdehnung und Stärke des feudalistischen Elements, als in ihrer Zertrümmerung die ruhelosen Feindseligkeiten der Bewohner des Landes bekunden.

(Ullrich, 398)

Ullrich is led to this reflection on the history of Scotland on visiting Doune. He describes the ruined castle and tells how James I, on his return from exile in England, had sent its owner, the Regent Albany, to the block. The German travellers seldom make such a sober appraisal of historical evidence. Too often the romantic aspect of the evidence of this turbulent history outweighs its testimony, and the travellers desire to see such a ruin through Romantic eyes only. Rather than reflecting on why James might have sent the above Albany, his two sons and father-in-law, to the block, Brandes concentrates on the grief of the Regent's widow, who lived out her days of sorrow on Inch Murrin on Loch Lomond (Brandes, 27). Rellstab can add some humour to the sighting of a ruin:

Dort drüben auf der andern Seite des Busens liegt ein Schloss, eine Ruine. Sollte es Rosyth-Castle sein? Ich vermute es nach Blacks Tourist, da derselbe sagt: "Nördlich erblickt man auf einem felsigen Vorgebirge die Trümmer von Rosyth-Castle." ...

He then relates the information, imparted in Black, regarding Oliver Cromwell:

Ja, seine Mutter soll auf Rosyth-Castle geboren sein!
Ein solcher Mann erfüllt uns immer mit einigen ernsten Anklängen. Es geht auch der ganzen Schiffsgesellschaft so, denn wir sehen Aller Augen zugleich aus den Reisebüchern, in denen sie studiren, emporblicken, und sich nach dem Felsvorsprung der Strandküste wenden; sämtliche Brillen, Lorgnetten, Perspective und Fernröhren richten sich gleichzeitig auf den merkwürdigen Punkt.

(Rellstab, i, 300f.)

This ability to step aside momentarily and observe his fellow tourists, yet never denying himself to be of their number, is a redeeming feature of Rellstabb's fulsome Sommermährchen.
The travellers do not merely relate such historical incidents as catch their fancy. On the one hand there were certain prerequisites expected of a travel writer, and on the other the travellers themselves were pre-conditioned by that which Schiller, Scott and Macpherson had ensured was already familiar and appealing to them. The very title of Strahlheim's *Die Wundermappe* (1836) shows the desired approach to geographical description: "Die Wundermappe oder sämtliche Kunst- und Natur-Wunder des ganzen Erdballs. Treu nach der Natur abgebildet und topographisch-historisch beschrieben." Topographical description alone was not sufficient, since historical allusion was an integral part of the appreciation. Thus Strahlheim includes in his work a "Kurze Übersicht der Geschichte" as introduction to the third volume, *Großbritannien*, referring in this to Scotland in relation to its Presbyterian history and to the Jacobite Rebellion, the latter being seen as an inglorious French intrigue (ibid. 228ff.). Meidinger was to provide his readers with a list of "Sehenswerthe alte Abteien, Kirchen und Burgen" and "alte runde Thürme (dänische)" (Meidinger, Index, 218). The standard guide books such as Black's (referred to above by Rellstab), and Anderson's, also provided the tourist with selective historical facts and figures; in many cases these were the visitor's sole source of information, although the works of Robert Chambers did also feature prominently as ready reference after he first published in the 1820's. For the average traveller, therefore, the scope was to a certain extent both limited and predetermined. Kohl, ever the industrious exception, seems to have read in addition many of the British historians, Clarendon and Macaulay in particular, recognising the relevance of Macaulay's opinion that British historians are not judges, as they should be, but advocates, since their writings are so totally coloured by the party, be it Whig or Tory, whose line they toe (Kohl, GB, ii, 303). In his *Land und Leute der Britischen Inseln*, in the section entitled "Die Schotten", Kohl discusses the Scots historians (ibid., i, 281), and he also openly acknowledges his debt to Robertson and Tyler as a source of historical information throughout his *Reisen in Schottland* (Kohl, i, 139 & 159, ii, 105). He writes at some length of the history of the British Isles in the former work, discussing the Union of England and Scotland and the spreading of the British Empire (GB, i, 313ff.), but also including information on the early history of
Scotland, under such titles as "Urbewohner und Einwanderer" (ibid., i, 132) and "Scoten, Picten, Römer, Angeln und Sachsen" (ibid., i, 236ff.). Apart from Kohl, one must presume that the historian, Raumer, was well acquainted with the works of the British historians, as indeed was Fontane. Moreover, in supplementing the travel account of Jenseit des Tweed with a "schottische Geschichtstabelle" (Fontane, 346-350), Fontane revealed a good knowledge of Scotland's history.

For the most part, however, the Germans did not stray from the familiar, which, as it was, provided some irresistible topics for any 19th Century tourist to indulge in. Seven main facets of Scotland's history emerge; firstly, the prehistorical Ossianic days of the Picts and Scots and the early history of Vikings and the Roman occupation; secondly, the history of the clans, which fascinated many a foreign visitor, even if his comprehension of the bewildering clan system was limited; thirdly, battle scenes and fields; fourthly, sites connected with the three national heroes, Wallace, Bruce and Douglas; fifthly, three towns which attracted the visitor above all others for their historical associations, namely Edinburgh, Stirling and Perth; sixthly, the controversial Jacobite cause; and finally, and most prominent of all, anything and everything to do with Mary Queen of Scots.
The interest of early history did not escape the German's notice, despite their predilection for the more familiar events of later times. There were after all visible prehistoric and Roman remains throughout the country and interest in archaeology was increasing. Abernethy, with its ancient round tower, attracted Meidinger as a former capital of the Pictish kingdom (Meidinger, Reisen, 521), while his interest was further roused by the Druid circle and vitrified forts at Craig Phadrick, by Inverness (ibid., 81). The origin of the vitrified forts was a subject of much speculation at the time; to Hailbronner, in 1836, the Highlands' "ausserordentlichste Antiquität" (Hailbronner, 313) is testified by the presence of these mysterious forts, all the more so since nothing akin to them had ever been found in all Europe. Eight years later the King of Saxony's party also visited Craig Phadrick and Carus showed much interest in the origin of the igneous rock. He describes the visit in some detail, giving the hill's dimensions and describing the rock formation and plants. He refers to the writings of both Pennant, whose theory on the volcanic origins was now proved to be outdated, and the contemporary authority, Macculloch, whose treatise on the subject Carus supplies in translation in his appendix. Carus reports that, despite the rife interest, money and workforce had been lacking and the conclusive evidence which would have been gained by digging a mine shaft was absent. The party regret that they did not bring any tools with them; instead they were obliged to gather their own samples and souvenirs (Carus, ii, 247). Nor did Hailbronner have any doubt that the theory of the volcanic origins of these rocks was mistaken, since recent chemical analysis had pointed to vitrification induced by man. He thinks it probable that they are indeed a peculiarity of Scotland, that the ramparts had formerly been much higher, that wooden grates must have been used to raise and strengthen them, and that the vitrification had resulted from the burning of this wood. He speculates that these fires, if not accidents, must have occurred either during a siege or as alarm signals giving warning of a Scandinavian invasion. He concludes:

Jedenfalls bleibt diese Erscheinung als eine ganz isolirte sehr der Beachtung werth, wie es denn niemand bereuen soll, die schottischen Hochlande aufmerksam durchreis' t zu haben. (Hailbronner, 315)
And so many centuries later it was still the presence of the descendants of these ancient Picts and Scandinavians, whom even the Romans were unable to subdue, which provided a barrier to true unity with the "Sassenachs". In Hailbronner's view one only had to travel through some of the wild glens on the precarious roads to understand something of the fierce independence of the Highlanders and to perceive why, in turn, it had been considered a priority, from Cromwell's time, to extend the network of Military Roads throughout the country (ibid., 321). For all the progress that had been effected in the country as a result of communications improvements, Kohl was to be sure that some things could not have changed since those prehistoric days. Just as there must still be farms in Germany which were no different from those the Romans first encountered there, or bandits and shepherds in Rome's Appenine Hills scarcely changed from Horace's day, so there must surely be heather-covered dwellings in the Highlands which looked exactly like those of the Ossianic Picts and Scots (Kohl, 1, 225).

As early as 1817 Meissner had also visited Inverness' vitrified fort. He himself could not share Garnett's opinion that such an extent of vitrification could have been caused by man, although he concedes that the now generally held opinion is that the sites were formerly beacons (Meissner, 261f.). Meissner's true interest concerned the Highlanders' second sight, but he was also intrigued by various standing stones he encountered on his way. The first he came across was by Ballachulish, and, having walked for almost a whole day without seeing anybody, he finds it natural to conclude that "im Angesicht der Gebürge Morvens war es vielleicht das Todtendenkmal eines der Helden Fingals" (ibid., 252). Later he was to give an account of Suend's Stone by Forres. It is his opinion that the obelisk must originally have been much higher than its present twenty-three feet, since the ground will have risen considerably during the eight centuries since its probable erection date of 1012, commemorating the peace between Canut and Malcolm after the departure of the Danes. The sea air had greatly spoil the sandstone sculptures, but he gives a description of the two figures which are still clear (ibid., 269f.).

Various Pictish sites gained mention. Inverness was worthy of note to Hallberg as the former "Aestuarium varariz", capital of the Pictish kingdom in the sixth Century (Hallberg-Broich, 72), while "Beregonium", on Loch Etive,
and Inverlochy were interesting to others for the same reason (Nemnich, 547; Ullrich, 369). Meissner was to relate a local legend that Beregonium had been destroyed by subterranean fire, and that stones (in his view, amber) had been found floating on the water (Meissner, 250). Ziegler was to give a detailed account of a "Pictish-Burgh", the Mouse Broch on Shetland. He stresses that similar Pictish or Celtic ruins were to be found all over the islands and had evidently served as watch towers from which smoke-signals could be communicated. He appreciates that the Mouse Broch was so placed that only extreme cunning on the part of the enemy, or the threat of starvation, could have forced the tower dwellers to abandon their fort, and he draws a comparison here with the Corsican towers as described by Neigebauer and Gregorovius (Ziegler, Bilder, 360). Ziegler also provided his readers with an illustration of the Standing Stones of Stenness, in Orkney, and a description of Orcadian elf-stones and tumuli (ibid., 169). Later he was to devote eight pages to the archaeological remains on the Orkneys (ibid., Reise, 244ff.). He was to pose the question which still faces 20th Century archaeologists regarding standing stones: "Wozu mögen diese Steine, die in ihrem Grauweiss in der aufgehenden Sonne wie Nebelbilder vorzügliehlicher Riesen erscheinen, gedient haben?" (ibid., 246). The mystique surrounding these ancient monuments remained overwhelming:


(Ziegler, ibid., 247)

Wichmann was the only other traveller to concern himself at any length with these early times. He reports that on his pedestrian tours he had frequently come across huge stones, supposedly relics of Druid times. He can only marvel that such massive stones were moved without modern machinery
(Wichmann, 47). In particular Wichmann had heard and read of the Druidical burial places on Iona. While those who visited the island concentrated on Christianity, rather than its predecessor, Druidism, Wichmann, who was prevented by the September weather from crossing to Iona, wrote of the island's "Cladh nan Druinach" instead. He wrote, too, of the Druids' custom of bowing in worship, of their temples, often in sacred oak groves, of the white staffs carried by the priests and the wonders that were performed with them. But the Druids' power had faded with the advent of Christianity, and thereafter they had retreated to impenetrable caves and cliffsides (ibid., 48).

Since Scotland's prehistoric remains were most visible in the North, there were correspondingly few references to them. Evidence of the Romans, on the other hand, was to be found further south and close to the beaten track and consequently received more attention. Kohl was to express his wonder at the extent of the Roman Empire on his visit to Scotland in 1842. Having left Perth, and thus penetrating at last territory which was "a Romanis invicti", he writes:

Diese "intrepiden Militairs", wie ich sie einmal in einem alten deutschen Buche aus dem vorigen Jahrhundert genannt fand, haben ein Reich gestiftet, dessen Betrachtung, wie es scheint, ewig die Bewunderung der Geschichtsforscher ausmachen soll. Ich tummle mich nun schon einige Jahre an den weiten Gränen ihres Reiches, die zwischen dem schwarzen Meere und diesen Highland-mouths, über die Walachei, durch Ungarn, Oesterreich, Deutschland und Belgien sich hinziehen, herum und suche überall mit Eifer die Spuren ihrer Gränzwälle und Lager auf, und doch ist es keine Frage, dass ein Reisender ein langes Leben haben müsste, wenn er eine solche Gränz-Inspection des römischen Reiches um das Ganze herum vollenden wollte. Es giebt nur einen Völkerstamm, dessen Verbreitungsgränzen zu bereisen noch schwieriger sein möchte. Das sind die Leute, welche sich ausserhalb der römischen Gränzwalle erhoben, und die erstlich das ganze Reich der Römer eroberten und ausserdem auch noch das Reich der Welt dazu, welches die Römer nicht hatten. Diese Leute, die Germanen, eroberten unter Anderen auch die Highlands von Schottland, und wenn die Schotten sagten: "a Romanis invicti", so dachten sie dabei wohl im Stillen: "a Germanis victi".

(Kohl, i, 201f.)

Kohl was ever anxious to prove the Germanic influence in Scotland.
Kohl remarks in passing that the traveller frequently encounters Roman remains in the Lowlands of Scotland (ibid., i, 110), but only once does he refer to any of these in more detail, when he passes Agricola's Camp on his way from Dunblane to Drummond Castle. Prince Albert had visited the site, now grazed by cattle, shortly before Kohl's visit, and it is this rather than Roman history which attracted the German:

In dem einen der noch deutlich erkennbaren There sahen wir eine kleine, mit Laub geschmückte Ehrenpforte stehen, die man unserem deutschen Prinzen Albert zu Ehren errichtet hatte. Diese Pforte steht gerade dem Angesichts der Hochlande gegenüber, und Agricola war hier gewiss manchmal unter ähnlichen Ehrenporten eingezogen, wenn er siegreich von seinen Einfällen ins Hochland zurückkehrte. Prinz Albert war hier jetzt kurz vorher ebenso eingezogen zu friedlicher Untersuchung dieser Scene kriegerischen Tumults. (ibid., 128)

It is only from Brandes, the Classical scholar, that we hear more of Agricola and the battle of Mons Graupius; he states that on that occasion 30,000 Caledonians were defeated by Roman skill and superiority (Brandes, 44). He also finds the Roman name for Melrose, Trimontium, fitting, and refers to the remains to be found there (ibid., 68). The following year, Wichmann, visiting Callander, finds it an insignificant place but for the surrounding romantic scenery and the remains of a Roman camp (Wichmann, 68). That the camp was Roman was not yet certain, but Wichmann considers it so similar to the many other Roman camps he had seen on his travels in Scotland that he does not doubt this; in any case its situation would have been of great strategic value for withstanding invading Highlanders. He later refers to the Antonine Wall, being assured of its existence by "glaubwürdige Personen" (ibid., 74). Undeterred by the fact that he had found nothing of Hadrian's Wall while in the Carlisle area, he sets out from Glasgow for Falkirk in order to search for the "Severus-Wall". Nobody he asks knows anything of a Roman Wall, until one man realises he means "Graham's Dyke" and a guide is found to lead him there. He tells the story of Graham storming the Wall and suggests to his readers that, in order to imagine how these remains now look, they should picture the old moats still to be found around many German towns (ibid., 75). Had Wichmann referred to Pennant, this confusion over the
naming of the Antonine Wall would have been clarified. 14 Fifteen years earlier, when travelling north from Alnwick, Isensee had joked that one needed a microscope to see the remains of Hadrian's Wall, "jener chinesischen Mauer en miniature" (Isensee, 111). He, too, was disappointed not to be able to see anything of either the wall (which he terms the "Pictenwall") or the camp at Belford.

In the face of a visit to the Highlands, the land of Scott, the Roman remains held little interest for Ullrich. He dismissed the camp at Callander as insignificant in comparison: it is mere tradition which dictates that "die alten Weltbeherrscher einst hier ihre Adler aufgepflanzt hatten" (Ullrich, 396). The thought of a possible Roman conquest - unimpressive perhaps to a German, whose own country could claim that history, proudly or otherwise - could not compete with treading the very ground on which Scott's characters trod, and on the Romantic notion of which the German traveller had most probably been raised. In this light it is perhaps ironic to reflect that the Highlands might well have been conquered by the Romans under Agricola, had he not been recalled and the forts disbanded to fight in the wars in Germany.

A visit to Orkney and Shetland naturally inspired interest in early history. Having told of the history of King Hakon IV, Ziegler relates the legend of Agricola's boat foundering on the Orkneys. He speculates that it could possibly have been one of his ships that was wrecked (Ziegler, Reise, 209f.). In his Bilder he writes briefly and informatively of the founding of St. Magnus Cathedral by Ronald, Earl of Orkney, in 1138, of the history of Kirkwall's Bishop's and Earl's Palaces, of the 15th Century Noltland Castle on Westray, of the landing of Harald Harfager and his defeat of the Picts in 876, of the piracy carried out by some 40 Scandinavian Earls, and of the dowry, the Orkney and Shetland Isles, which Princess Margaret of Denmark brought with her on her marriage to James III in 1468 (ibid., Bilder, 169f.).

Later, in Meine Reise im Norden, Ziegler writes at greater length on the history of the Orkney and Shetland Isles, of the Picts and Scots, Normanni and Germanni, the Vikings and Norwegian Jarls and of King Hakon. The
Northern Isles did not distract the visitor with too many associations of Ossian and Scott, and although Ziegler does refer to both, 15 he gives a generally less biased account of the history of the parts of the country which he visited.

From Arrochar, Ullrich tells how the adventurous Norwegians had launched an attack on Scotland in the 13th Century with sixty boats, sailing up Loch Long, dragging their vessels across to Loch Lomond and laying waste as they went (Ullrich, 383). But the final comment on these early peoples, the Romans, the Picts and the Scots, the Dani and the Normanni and the Germanni, comes again from Ziegler from the Orkney Islands (Ziegler, Reise, 209ff., 212ff., 213ff. & 215ff.). In words that have a prophetic ring, he compares the Vikings of early days with the Germanic people of modern times:


(ibid., 220)
ii. BATTLE SCENES

Wie ein Kleiner gegen einen Grossen immer etwas keck aufzutreten pflegt, so erinnert sich daher Schottland auch noch immer mit Eifer und patriotischem Enthusiasmus seiner gegen die Engländer ausgeführten Heldenthaten, erzählt sie sich und den Fremden noch beständig, besingt sie .... und beschreibt sie fortwährend, indessen auf der anderen Seite des Tweed und der Cheviot-Hills alle die Schlachten, in welchen die Schotten ihrerseits von den Engländern geschlagen wurden, in einem weit höheren Grade vergessen sind.

(Kohl, ii, 178)

Kohl's observation from the 1840's still rings true. He attempts to analyse this English-Scottish antagonism: one might well reproach the Scots for dwelling on battles, "die nur noch eine antiquarische und romantische, nicht im Geringsten aber eine praktische Bedeutsamkeit zu haben scheinen", battles which had taken place long before even those which had won Prussia or France their lands, and yet "es gibt Schlachten zwischen verschiedenen Völkern, die schnell vergessen werden, andere wiederum, die nie verbluten" (ibid., 176f.). France's provinces amalgamated relatively quickly, and in neither France nor Prussia (though Kohl cites one exception to this, Posen) does such national antagonism exist as between the English and the Scots, who had quarrelled and fought bitterly for 600 years. Kohl tells how Edward I, the Hammer of the Scots, desired that his bones be carried by the standard bearer into battle against the hated Scots. Even at the time of Kohl's visit, 1842, the English in Northumberland and Cumberland still reproach the Scottish Borderers, half in fun but half in earnest, for the raids of the past. Tales are still told in England at the expense of the Scots, and thus,

wollte man alle die Punkte aufzählen, welche noch jetzt Anlass zu gelegentlichen kleinen Reibungen zwischen beiden Nationen geben, so hätte man viel zu thun.

(Kohl, ibid., 177f.)

In the 1840's, Kohl would no more have thought of Prussia as a German province than the Scots would of themselves as an English province, a fact he recognises:

Schottland ist den Engländern nicht als eine Provinz unterthan geworden, sondern es hat sich nach mancher glorreicher Vertheidigung seiner Freiheit, ihm zuerst in der Union beider Parliamente und Reiche an die Seite gestellt. Als ein kleineres Land aber hat es doch

(ibid., 178)

Such a clear analysis was seldom attempted by the other travellers; most of them would have freely admitted that their interest was in the "antiquarische und romantische Bedeutung" of the famous battles, of which Kohl writes above. Not surprisingly, these were the battles fought in the vicinity of Stirling and there is little reference to any others. Wichmann was attracted by the "ungemein alterthümliches Ansehen" of the town of Berwick, where

Die alten verfallenen Festungswerke geben ihr einen kriegerischen Anstrich, und deuten zur Genüge darauf hin, dass hier gewaltige und blutige Kämpfe in früheren Zeiten statt gefunden haben (Wichmann, 84)

but he does not go further into the turbulent past of the much fought-over border town. Otherwise, apart from the Jacobite battles, only the Covenanting battle of Bothwell Brig earns mention, Maidinger referring to it in passing (Maidinger, Reisen, 105), while Brandes was inspired by the connotations that came to mind on visiting Bothwell Brig, and seeing the old castle,

welches als prächtige Burgruine nicht weit unterhalb sich neben dem neuen Schlosse erhebt, in der lieblichsten Gegend, die in alten schottischen Liedern Bothwell’s Banks, that bloom so fair besungen wird, und die ein Engländer zu seiner Verwunderung um das Jahr 1600 in Palästina von einer Türk-Frau ihrem spielenden Kinde vor der Hütte anpreisen hörte, indem sie sang Bothwell Bank, thou bluest fair. Sie war nämlich eine Schottin und von Venedig nach Palästina gekommen und dort mit einem türkischen Beamten verheirathet.

(Brandes, 17f.)

From this appealing story Brandes moves on to tell of the battle of June 1679, describing the Covenanters as "meistens eine ungeordnete wilde schwärmersiche Menge", and relating the events of the battle, as he found them in Walter Scott’s description: (plastisch schildert Walter Scott den Hergang der Schlacht ......) (ibid., 18). He tells the story in a lively descriptive manner and at least understands the religious significance of the encounter.
The view from Stirling Castle provided a haven for the traveller intent on savouring that "antiquarische und romantische Bedeutsamkeit" of former days:

Von den Zinnen dieses edlen Schlosses sieht das Auge zwölf Schlachtfelder, welche die treuen Schotten siegreich für die Sache ihrer Herrscher mit ihrem Blute getränkt, und wo blühende Saaten den friedlicher Nachfolgern den Abstand zwischen jetzt und damals geniessen lassen.

(Hailbronner, 331)

Here one could enjoy the idea of heroic deeds without having to concern oneself at all with the brutality of battles. Hailbronner does not mention any of the twelve battles by name, since the mere knowledge of their having taken place is sufficient to satisfy his desire. 17

Fanny Lewald was to be less concerned even than Hailbronner as to the facts and figures of history. She travelled to Stirling on a day's outing from Edinburgh and found herself sharing the train compartment with an elderly Quaker lady, who, observing her leafing through her guide book, informed her of points and places of interest which they passed. Thus she heard of the Battle of Bannockburn, in which Robert the Bruce, "mit seinen tapfern Schotten das mehr als drei Mal so starke Heer der Engländer besiegte", but she regrets that the names of the other battles mentioned had escaped her memory (Lewald, ii, 322). Brandes, who also passed by the battlefield by train that year, 1850, was more impressed than Lewald by Edward's defeat against the odds, and he tells how at "das Marathon des Nordens" Bruce's army of 30,000 faced an English army of 100,000, who suffered "eine vollkommene Niederlage und liessen 30,000 nebst 700 Baronen und Rittern auf dem Wahlplatz" (Brandes, 58f.). These figures, found in Barbour's Bruce, have been proved greatly exaggerated, 18 but they add considerable spice to Brandes' account, and as such, particularly since he did not visit Bannockburn himself, serve him well. It was on that same train journey, too, that Kalckstein saw the famous battlefield some two years later, finding himself sharing his compartment with a young law student who had studied in Berlin for a year and was therefore fairly conversant with German. Kalckstein dismisses the battle in one phrase, Bannockburn being the scene, where Bruce defeated Edward and saved his country's independence (Kalckstein, 225). His friendly travel companion and the picturesque scenery were of equal interest to him.
Kohl's attention was caught by a contemporary event concerning the field of Bannockburn. The year before his own visit, as Queen Victoria visited Stirling, a flag had been raised on the battlefield, so that the Queen might see, from afar at least, where her forebears had been so heavily defeated by the Scots. This occurrence makes Kohl think of the Austrian Kaiser's tour of Steiermark; even though the Styrians have many such battlefields to boast of, in which they had fought back invading Grand Dukes and Kaisers, he feels sure that etiquette would not have allowed such a display of defiance before their sovereign. In this respect he finds the relationship between the Scots and the English more akin to that between the Swedes and Norwegians, the latter priding themselves in their defeats of the more powerful Swedes (Kohl, ii, 179). Kohl continues his comparison, using the mistaken figures, quoted by Brandes above, to compare the battle with the far more recent slaughter at the Battle of Leipzig, in which even more human lives were wasted and lost: he doubts whether, 530 years after the event, the Germans will be as knowledgeable about it as the Scots are about Bannockburn (ibid., ii, 180). To emphasise this point he names several places on the battlefield still known by the events of the battle which took place on or near them; he tells the story of "the bloody field", "Ingram's Crook", "Randal's Field", "Gillies' Hill", and finally, the large granite "bored stone", in which Bruce had supposedly planted his banner and in which the flag had been planted for the visit of Victoria and Albert. Judging by the exaggerated facts he has at his disposal, Kohl finds it hard to believe how, on the relatively small battlefield, enough pits could have been dug by Bruce's men to seriously hamper the enemy:

Ich hoffte, dass mir das Schlachtfeld selbst etwas darüber lehren würde, aber auch dieses hat mich nicht überreden können, jene Maserregel für weniger sonderbar, roh und ungeschickt zu halten, als sie mir von Anfang an erschien. In demselben, historisch so interessanten Moraste, an dessen Rande jene Löcher gegraben wurden, und der sich im Thale des Bannockburn hinerstreckt, sah ich jetzt wieder tiefe Rillen und Löcher ausgearbeitei, die aber ein friedlicheres Ziel hatten, nämlich die Austrocknung diese Morastes. Der grösste Theil desselben ist schon in früheren Jahren unter der um sich greifenden Cultur verschwunden.

(ibid., 182)
It is as if every individual scene from the battle, even if it only lasted but a few moments, was indelibly imprinted on the minds of the Scots. Sceptical over such details or not, Kohl recognises the one salient point: "Die Schlacht bei Bannockburn ist ohne Zweifel eine der folgenreichsten und wichtigsten, welche je in Schottland gefochten wurde" (ibid., 180). Fontane was to take this one step further, for Bannockburn was immortalised in poetry, as "jenes Feld ...., das noch jetzt in Liedern klingt und jeden Einzelnen mit stolzer Freude füllt" (Fontane, 166).
Certainly not every traveller felt this compunction, but many were well aware of the heroic stature which had earned the great Scots heroes an important place in national pride. While in Lanarkshire, close to the Falls of Clyde, Wichmann writes that it would have been unforgivable had he not visited the home and haunts and sites of many a heroic deed of the famed and ill-fated Wallace. He tells of Balliol's accession to the throne and of the ensuing bitter struggle for Scottish independence, in which Wallace emerged as victorious hero: "Aber nicht allein seine hohen Gaben als Feldherr, sondern auch seine vortrefflichen Eigenschaften als Mensch werden bis auf den heutigen Tag gerühmt" (Wichmann, 78). As a guest in the household of the local minister, it is natural that Wichmann should side with the freedom fighter:

Leider fiel dieser unbesiegbarer Held, der Schrecken der Engländer, nachdem er sein Land wiederholt von den Feinden befreit, endlich durch den Verrath seiner eigenen Landsleute in die Hände seiner Feinde und musste in London öffentlich den Tod eines Verräthers sterben. (ibid.)

Here was the stuff Romantic history was made of; moreover, the German was able to walk through the very hills and crags which provided the famous hero with his hideout and shelter. Wichmann's vivid description of the area is
thus coloured by thoughts of Wallace’s exploits there and he appreciates it all the more as a result:


(ibid., 78f.)

Here the travel writer’s Romanticism comes to the fore, the subject-matter conveniently providing all the necessary ingredients; he can combine a description of wild romantic scenery with tales of a near superhuman hero. Bannockburn in turn takes on much of this romantic light when seen as Bruce’s revenge for the dishonourable death of his countryman, through which he won back Scotland’s freedom and independence, so treacherously lost.

In 1850 Brandes was to write freely of “das Romantische” (Brandes, 11) in his description of the Falls of Clyde, but he does not seem able to mingle the scenic with the historic as Wichmann was to do soon after, since, although he refers to Wallace and to Scott’s account of his deeds in The Tales of a Grandfather, this is as a separate attraction, “ein geschichtliches Interesse” (ibid., 12). Later, on his journey up the Clyde, Dumbarton Castle
was to impress him, both for its imposing situation and for the nearby cliff, Wallace’s Seat, where the hero had once been imprisoned (ibid., 24). Only Meissner mentions that Wallace’s sword is kept in the castle (Meissner, 280). As he passed Ayr, Maidinger mistakenly notes that Wallace had been born there (Maidinger, Reisen, 104), although his facts are correct when he writes of the utter defeat of the hero at the hands of Edward I at Falkirk in 1298 (ibid. 35). Carus, too, talks of Edward leading his mighty army through the town of Linlithgow to meet Wallace at Falkirk, but like most others he prefers to concentrate on the heroism of Wallace in the face of the oppressive Edward:

"jener merkwürdige Mann, welcher, als Eduard I. herangezogen war um Schottland sich zu unterwerfen, ein Heer patriotischer Schotten um sich versammelte, mehrmals die Engländer schlug und nur spät und durch Verrath unterlag. (Carus, ii, 283)"

Fontane, all set to honour Wallace on his visit to Perth, was thwarted in the attempt. To find Wallace’s former castle now an ale house and store merely heightened his disappointment in the “Fair City”. As if in defiance, he and Lepel took great pleasure in breaking off stones from the walls and hurling them into the trees below (Fontane, 203f.).

Naturally Robert the Bruce featured as the hero of Bannockburn. Wichmann sees him as the successor of Balliol, the avenger of Wallace’s death, and securer of his country’s freedom and independence. As a hero, Bruce might even be said to have surpassed Wallace. He brings the two heroes together in quoting and translating “Scots, she has wi’ Wallace bled”, explaining that the song is supposedly Bruce’s speech rallying his army before that decisive battle. 20 Others refer to Bruce anecdotes, presumably found in Scott’s Tales of a Grandfather, in particular the King’s struggles against McDougall of Lorn. Maidinger mentions Bruce’s connection with Kildrummy Castle as he passes through that part of Aberdeenshire (Maidinger, Reisen, 65), and Kohl writes of Glen Dochart as the scene of the MacDougalls’ attack on Bruce and of the latter’s heroic deeds performed in the face of that danger (Kohl, ii, 94). Kohl was especially attracted by the onomatopoetic name of the cliffs by Lochearnhead, “Crickmachkranach” (“das Wort selbst klingt wie lauter Stein- und Felsenbruch” (ibid.)), one of the many “Robert the Bruce’s caves” which were shown to visitors. Bruce, “dieser schottische Vieldulder” (ibid.), had
left his mark in tales and souvenirs and was a hero "dessen Spur man übrigens
fast nirgends in Schottland verliert" (ibid., i, 110).

Klingemann was to remain totally unconcerned as to the accuracy or detail
of what he wrote in his letters; he had not done his homework and read up in
Scott about Bruce and the loss of his brooch, but this was of no consequence
to him:

am Hafen von Oben steht Bruce's Felsen, wo er irgend
eine That verrichtet, - der Laird MacDonald geht mit
seinen Damen nach seinem Hause, einem neuen, das hinter
den Ruinen des alten Castle's steht und worin noch
eine silberne Broach von Bruce aufbewahrt wird, - unser
Edinburger Freund, der Seekapitain Nelson, mit dem wir
auf dem Schiff zusammentreffen, und Hands shaken erzählt
wunderliche Geschichten darüber, wie diese Reliquie
verloren gewesen und theuer wieder erkauft sei, - sie
sei einmal geraubt mit anderen Sachen und habe sich
zuletzt im Besitz einer Dame gefunden, die von Rob
Roy abstamme. (Klingemann, 250)

Past and present merge more easily from the pen of Klingemann than from most
other German travellers.

The name of the family of Douglas earned immortality in German literature,
firstly through Strachwitz's ballad, "Das Herz von Douglas" (to which Fontane
refers in his chapter on Melrose Abbey (Fontane, 326ff.)), and secondly
through Fontane himself. The fact that so many members of the Douglas clan
featured prominently in Scottish history very likely escaped most Germans, but
the name was familiar and that was what counted. Thus Carus was eager to
know of Bothwell Castle, as Douglas property (Carus, ii, 187f.), and was
tickled to discover that the keeper of the arsenal, who showed them round
Stirling Castle, should have amongst his living quarters the room said to be
the scene of King James' murder of Douglas (ibid. 276). That it was James II
who murdered William, 8th Earl of Douglas, is not of importance to Carus,
who writes only that "König Jacob" killed "den Douglas". Kohl, on the other
hand, tells which king it was and the date of the treacherous deed but he is
interested in the episode from the King's point of view, pointing out how
seldom in history kings have murdered with their own hands, while in Scotland
This had occurred several times, a terrible deed which will long remain in
the memories of the people. He quotes the lines in Scott's "Lady of the
Lake" which refer to the murder of Douglas "by his sovereign" and concludes
that such an event has about it "etwas besonders Schreckliches" (Kohl, i, 118).

Travelling from Loch Etive to Loch Awe, by the slopes of Ben Cruachan
and through the Pass of Brander, Ullrich was to find just that attraction
which Wichmann had found in the Falls of Clyde region. Everything comes
together to complete the whole; it is the scene of Scott's Highland Widow,
the scenery becomes more and more spectacular as Ullrich and his companions
travel through the Pass and beside the Falls of Cruachan and the Rocks of
Brander, and it is also the scene of a bloody encounter between Bruce and
the MacDougalls of Lorn:

Der Fluss Awe kommt aus dem höher gelegenen Loch Aue herab
und ergiesst sich nordwärts hinter uns, in den Meeresarm
des Loch Etive; seine Gewässer strömen und zwischen
himmelhohen Bergen in rapiden Lauf durch eine lange schmale
Schlucht entgegen, über Felsblöcke brausend und schäumend.
Er ist, wenn auch nicht der breiteste, so doch der wildeste
Fluss, den ich im Hochlande sah, und gewährt ein wahrhaft
imposantes Schauspiel.

(Ullrich, 370)

Here "wild" is the desired attribute, intensifying the historical significance.

They continue on their journey and even the rain lets up, while the air
becomes colder:

Die Scenerie gewinnt von Minute zu Minute an Grossartigkeit
und Rauhheit. ... Die Schlucht heisst der Awe-Pass und ist
im Anfang des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts der Schauplatz eines
grauen Kampfes gewesen, von dem noch heute die Spuren in
einer Masse von Steinaufhäufungen, Grabmälern der Gefallenen,
an den felsigen Abhängen übrig geblieben sind. Hier vergalt
der Schottenkönig Robert Bruce dem Clan M'Dougall of Lorn
(von Dougall Castle bei Oban) die in der Nähe von Tyndrum
erlittene Niederlage durch einen plötzlichen Ueberfall und
durch ein furchtbare Blutbad, aus welchem bei der Natur
der Oertlichkeit kein Entrinnen möglich war; ein Vorbild
der Metzelei von Glencoe. Es erklärt sich freilich wohl,
dass eine Überwiegende so wilde und rauhe Natur auch den
Gemüthern der Menschen einen Zug der Härte und Unbändigkeit
einimpfen musste, der sich von den ältesten Zeiten an in
unablässigen kriegerischen Unternehmungen der zahlreichen
Stämme gegen einander Luft machte. Der Mensch wird hier
förmlich von Wolken und Stürmen gesäugt, und Klippen und
Abgründe erwecken seinen Muth.

(ibid., 370f.)
This may seem an obvious observation, and yet it is scarcely ever expressed in so many words; the Romantics revelled in scenery which was "wild" und "rauh", all the more so in Scotland, where history had been made by men with just those attributes, but seldom are the two connected as inseparable cause and effect. As the journey continues, so does the wild scenery, water cascading down the harsh rock faces, their darkness occasionally brightened by a streak of quartz giving the whole the effect of a skeleton, the tops of which are lost in the mist. The road winds its way past the thundering falls of Cruachan and through the Rocks of Brander, overshadowed by the mountain mass of Ben Cruachan, covered in trees, through which can be glimpsed the loch and the hilly landscape beyond. Nor is the picture complete yet:

Plötzlich überrascht in der Niederung, drüben auf einer in den See vorspringenden Spitze unter prächtigen Baumgruppen die schöne und umfangreiche Ruine von Kilchurn Castle, ein Punkt, der durch seine Lage und Umgebung gewiss zu den herrlichsten und romantischsten der Hochlande gehört. (ibid., 372)

Kilchurn Castle, supposedly built in 1443 by the wife of Colin Campbell, "des sogenannten schwarzen Ritter von Rhodus" (ibid.), not only featured in the history of the land in connection with the powerful Campbell clan, but had also been taken and occupied by English troops during the last Jacobite Rebellion. In the space of a few miles, therefore, Ullrich had found all he came to find, wild romantic scenery, settings to be found in Scott, allusions to the glorious hero Bruce and the ill-fated Young Pretender, and finally, a perfectly placed romantic ruin. This was how he wished to enjoy Scotland's history.

No work contains more historical allusion than Jensesit des Tweed. To list all these references would be a pointless and lengthy undertaking, yet it is fruitful to consider Fontane's account alongside the near contemporary work of Ullrich, with which Fontane himself was familiar. The main feature of Ullrich's account is his attempt to present the Scottish landscape, as he perceived it, in all its aspects, natural, historical, picturesque and romantic. Fontane moved in a different direction. He was little concerned with landscape for its own sake and sought not merely to enliven it with historical allusion - which, after all, others had done to a varying extent before him -
but to recreate, and therefore relive, the historical scenes themselves. At the same time it should be said that the heroes he resurrected to reenact their history were almost exclusively those who were already familiar to him from the world of poetry. While, like others before him, he had told of Bruce's brooch and the MacDougalls of Lorn when passing Dunolly Castle (Fontane, 274f.), it was only on visiting Dunfermline and Melrose that he became truly enthusiastic. Dunfermline not only featured in the ballad, "Sir Patrick Spens", but also harboured the body of Bruce. The fact that it had been unearthed only forty years before his visit, in 1818, added to Fontane's excitement (ibid., 382ff.). As the resting place of Bruce's heart, Melrose was even more exciting, for here Fontane could relive the entire story of the Strachwitz ballad and delight in yet more "Douglas-Geschichten" (ibid., 326). For, just as Loch Leven Castle inspired Fontane, not only for its association with Mary Queen of Scots, but also as the scene of the ballad, "Northumberland betrayed by Douglas" (ibid., 386), so Melrose was the burial place of James Douglas, the earl who featured in the "Chevy Chase" ballad, and William Douglas, the "Black Lord of Liddisdale", as well. This naturally gave Fontane an ideal opportunity to retell the poetic and historical stories surrounding these men (ibid., 323ff.). Thus Bruce and Douglas were truly poetic figures to Fontane, but Wallace, who did not feature in the Scottish poetry he loved so well, was all but ignored in Jenseit des Tweed.
iv. THE CLANS

Ich wollte, dass einmal Jemand alle die verschie denen höchst merkwürdigen und interessanten Züge und Ereignisse aus der Geschichte der Clans zusammenstellte. ... eine Classification und Zusammenstellung aller der bekannten Ereignisse dieser Geschichte wäre höchst interessant, und es könnte daraus ein ganz eigenthümliches Gemälde dieses sonderbaren Zustandes der menschlichen Gesellschaft entstehen.

(Kohl, i, 216)

In the absence of such a "Classification", the clan system remained baffling to most Germans, as it has baffled many non-Scots before and since. Scott had brought to life many of the clan names and titles and merely to hear these and see sites connected with them was enough for most visitors. To Kohl the phenomenon of the continuing existence of the clans remained a puzzle; the work he recommended above might clarify the origin of the seemingly inexplicable clan feuds:


(ibid., 216f.)

Throughout his tour of Scotland it becomes clear that Kohl's real concern was not so much to relate tales of the clans as to try to consolidate information on their origins and make-up. In this he can be seen to differ markedly from his fellow travellers, but especially from Fontane, who, in Jenseit des Tweed, delighted in retelling such clan stories as "Cleanse the Causeway, oder Hie Douglas, hie Hamilton" (Fontane, 74ff.), the tale surrounding the "Lady's Rock" (ibid., 276) and, above all, "Der letzte Hochlands-Häuptling" (ibid., 250ff.).
Kohl acknowledged Robertson as the source of a certain amount of information but found himself posing many further questions. He is also one of the few to reflect on the Highland Clearances. He saw the Clearances as resulting in the improvement of agriculture, even if at the expense of scattering the clans and with them their language, Gaelic. In former times, the crofter had been of some worth to his Highland overlord, but this, too, had changed:

Sie schoben also diese kleinen Hüttenbewohner, die ihnen nichts einbrachten und die ihnen auch mit ihrer Person nicht mehr dienen konnten, auf die Seite, vertrieben sie von ihren elenden kleinen Farms und verwandelten diese und die benachbarten, von dem Rindvieh der kleinen Cottiers wenig oder schlecht benutzten Bergtracte in Schafweiden. (Kohl, i, 135)

Kohl does not necessarily see this in a bad light; industrial labour was needed after all and the Highlanders, driven from their isolated glens by the sheep, were forced to move to the more populated areas. As the villages, towns and cities grew, so did progress in the spreading of the English language and of culture. Kohl seems to see the present as justification of the means to this end, though he does acknowledge past wrongs and injustices:


Macgregors fled, hid and concealed their names. Some turned to the Campbells, some to the Drummonds, and took on new names accordingly. Kohl comes to discuss the subject with the schoolmaster in Muthill, who tells him that in
that village alone there were still many people who were known to be Macgregors even if they called themselves differently. Some had even recently returned to their original name, others retained both. He tells Kohl of one local man who signed himself as "James Drummond", but was known to family and friends as "James MacGregor". The other clans had been able to retain their names openly, and despite their being scattered far and wide following the Clearances, some names still retain the overwhelming majority in certain districts. Thus Kohl notes that nearly everyone in the area is a Drummond, descendants of the clan which, next to the Stewarts, had been the most important in Perthshire, before the proscription and forfeited titles. Shortly before Kohl's visit, the last male Drummond of Drummond Castle had died, but up till that time the family had continued to reside there. On the recent Royal Tour, Lord Willoughby, Lord Chamberlain of England, and the husband of Clementina, the surviving heiress, had presented the clan to the Queen. And there were still other remaining Drummond families elsewhere, whom Kohl names, peers and commoners alike. He reminds his readers of the well known banking house in London called Drummond and says that he himself had met many a "Dr. Drummond" on his travels in England. Wherever they are, all adhere to the same coat of arms; yet before common names and coats of arms, the people had used patronymics, and only gradually had this developed into the close knit clan system, "Und so haben denn auf diese Weise meine Leser einen kurzen Ueberblick von einem ganzen schottischen Clan" (ibid., 139). A few days later he was to reach Campbell territory.

It was Kohl's arrival in Dunkeld shortly after Queen Victoria which caused him again to reflect on the clans. There had been a large clan gathering in the Queen's honour and Kohl's guide describes it to him. The Queen and the Prince had had luncheon in a tent in the grounds of Atholl House, with eight pipers to accompany their meal. The local clans, which Kohl lists as the "MacKays", the "MacInzies" [sic], the "Stewarts", the "MacInroys" and the "Donnachys" or "Robertsons" (ibid., 217), had all come down out of the hills and were lined up, each with chieftain and piper and all in Highland dress. Kohl's guide tells him that "Lord Glen Lyon, who had capital spirits, had hundred men of his own" and that "The Queen reviewed all the clans most famously" (ibid., 217f.). With pipers lining the Bridge to greet the
Royal Pair, Kohl reflects that

Es muss ein wunderhübscher Anblick gewesen sein. diese lebendige, farbige, königliche Scene auf dem schönen Grüne des Parks. Jetzt war Alles einsam und mäuschenstil. Die Blätter fielen von den Bäumen, die Clans steckten ruhig in ihren Bergschluchten, und die Herzogin von Atholl, noch vor wenigen Wochen die Bewohnerin dieses Ortes, war schon zum ewigen Frieden entschlafen. (ibid., 218)

The Duchess had been present at the Royal gathering shortly before her death.

The esteem in which the Duke of Atholl is held by his people is striking to Kohl. Not only had these chieftains been important in the history of Scotland, equal only in significance to the Dukes of Buccleugh and Argyll, but the present Duke was also popular and loved by his people. Kohl's old guide is a Murray and proud of it; he talks of nothing but the Duke, telling of his great influence both in daily life and at elections, and Kohl remarks wryly that the Murrays' Duke is so important to them that they know little about their Royal Family:

So hielt mein Alter steif und fest den Prinzen Albert für einen Prinzen von "Wämir" oder "Wehmir". Er hatte einmal etwas von Weimar gehört. Ich belehrte ihn endlich, dass es ein Prinz von Coburg sei. (ibid., 212)

Coburg or Weimar, it was all the same to the old man, whose only concern was that the Queen's Consort was well liked by the British: "He is such a quiet, nice and gracious man .... He does not meddle with politics at all ..... And a gentleman he is too" (ibid., 213). This is an eye-opener to Kohl, who concludes: "Ihr Duke ist den Murrays Eines und Alles in der Welt" (ibid., 212).

The abundance of the Duke of Atholl's titles interests Kohl, so much so that he lists all eleven of them as they appear in *The Peerage of Scotland*, *The Peerage of England*, and *The Peerage of Britain*. What about the man himself?:

Unter aller dieser Last von Erbtiteln steckt im eigentlichen Kerne weiter Niemand als "John Murray", dieser ist nämlich der persönliche Grund- und Kernname des ersten Herzogs. Unter diesem Namen steht er im Taufregister und vor Gott, - im Leben heisst er gewöhnlich der "Herzog". (ibid.)
Later on his tour, as he travelled from Loch Tay to Killin, Kohl was to note that although the Government no longer officially recognised the district names such as Breadalbaine, since replacing them with shires in 1746, they were still used by the people and might indeed never die out, another relic of the power of the clan chieftains. Kohl wonders why it should be that the districts were not called after the clans who inhabited them, considering that the smaller areas at least, the glens or islands, were often inhabited entirely by one clan, whether Maclean, Macdonald, Campbell or Stuart. "Man findet diese Frage, wie viele andere die Clans betreffende Fragen, bei den schottischen Schriftstellern gar nicht untersucht " (ibid., ii, 58). But notwithstanding, Kohl has discovered a good deal more than most about the clans, from which Maxton of Caltoguey had prayed for deliverance, and he accordingly quotes and translates Maxton's appendage to the Lord's prayer:

Von der Gier der Campbells,
Von dem Zorne der Drummonde,
Von dem Stolze der Grahas,
Von dem Sturme der Murrays,
Herr, erlasse uns.

(ibid., i, 140)

The Stewart clan was perhaps most puzzling of all to Kohl, and even after staying on the Stuart farm in the Trossachs, he was not much clearer as to certain questions. Why was it, for instance, that the chief of these people, all Stuarts, should be Earl of Moray, Lord Doune? Why should Francis Stuart be Earl of Moray, a title one might expect among the Clan Murray? Lord Doune must not be confused with the Irish Lord Down, quite apart from the confusions arising from the many Stuarts and Stewarts to be found in The Scottish Peerage, all under different titles; the same applies to the Douglas clans. And yet it is all of importance to the members of the clans, his Stuart hosts included, and he observes:

Diese Bauern wissen sehr genau um die Titel
ihrer Herren Bescheid. Ein Fremder begeht
immer Fehler darin.

(ibid., ii, 107)

All along the shores of Loch Tay and from Killin to Loch Earn and Loch Katrine Kohl was to meet with Stuarts and Stewarts. Here again he finds information lacking as to the various Stewart clans, though he is aware of their origin as "Stewards". The question of the occasional English rather than Gaelic
derivation of some of the clan names had already concerned him (ibid., i, 217), but as he encounters more new names, Macgregors round Aberfeldy and MacIntyres and Macdonalds, he wants to know more. His guide at this point is another old man ("wie gesagt, die Alten sind in Schottland sehr häufig!" (ibid., ii, 57), by name of Duncan MacIntire, which, he explains, as a small clan "goes under the same badge with the Macdonalds". The more he hears, the more Kohl is frustrated:


Few of the other travellers displayed such a genuine interest in the clans; they were attracted instead by the tales of murder and revenge, heroism and treachery. Thus Carus remarks of the country through which he travelled on the steamer to Inverness: "Auch hier heften sich Erzählungen aus den wilden Zeiten der Clans fast an alle Thäler " (Carus, ii, 233). He proceeds to relate one such tale, that of the bitter and bloody 16th Century battle on the shores of Loch Lochy, when the Macdonalds of Clanranald and the Frasers of Lovat fought over disputed lands and inheritance. Carus finds the story of this battle in Anderson’s Guide to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (1842), a work he recommends as a source of such information (ibid., 234, footnote).

Carus’ imagination was caught by many such tales as he traversed Scotland. As the Saxon Royal Party sailed past Duart Castle, the captain of their vessel told them the story of clan vengeance surrounding the Campbell wife of Maclean of Duart, imprisoned by her husband on Lady’s Rock (Carus, ii, 210), and having left Tobermory, they were told of the fight which gave Bloody Bay its name (ibid., 212). A fight more remarkable to Carus was the extraordinary
confrontation between the Clans Chattan and Kay on the North Inch of Perth in 1396. It is a story "in der man das eigne altschottische Colorit ganz deutlich wieder erkennen wird": firstly, the prearranged fight, given royal approval, to decide the clans' longstanding differences, "durch eine Art von Gottesgericht ihre Sache zu entscheiden", secondly, the choosing of the thirty warriors from each side, thirdly, the brave volunteering, for just half a French gold crown, of Wynde, the Perth saddler, in place of the one faint-hearted Macintosh, and finally, the survival of the only one of the Mackays, who wisely escaped by means of the river. The battle had been fought and won, and the differences were thus decided (ibid., 273). Kohl, too, had told this story, stressing Robert III's part in it, and entitling it "Die schottischen Horatier und Curatier". He refers to the different accounts of it in Chambers and in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, nor does he omit to tell of the main source for German readers:

A final story to which Carus was attracted concerned the Duke's Walk at Holyrood, long the scene of duels. Carus found the anecdote in an otherwise pedantic and boring booklet on Holyrood and the tale seemed "so nächtlich und originell" that he retold it (Carus, ii, 306). It concerned a worthy tenant farmer, named McMillan, who had come to Edinburgh at the time of the 1745 Rebellion to stay with a friend near Holyrood. Feeling out of sorts during the night, he had gone for a walk in the park, and while he was concealed in the shadows he witnessed a fierce and well-matched moonlit duel between two armed and muffled men, one wearing a Highland bonnet. Only after the Highlander had run his stumbling opponent through with his sword and coldly wiped it clean did McMillan dare to leave. Next morning he feigned ignorance when he heard that a body had been found not far from the house. The victim was a stranger to all,
there was no clue as to his identity to be found on his body, nor was there a trace of his opponent. Carus tells this story vividly and with relish; it has all the attractions of a Romantic 'Novelle'. He finishes:

Das Ereigniss endet somit selbst wie ein Mondlicht das plötzlich hinter Wolken sich verbirgt, es geht aus wie ein Licht welches spurlos verlöscht, und gerade dadurch hinterlässt es einen gewissen seltsamen unheimlichen Eindruck. — (ibid., 307)

A visit to Loch Lomond seldom failed to revive tales of adventure, whether from Scott, as found in the guide books or as related by guides. Carus joins the King's party on an outing to Inchdavenock, and their boatmen, both MacGregors, tell them tales from the times of the clan feuds. They have revealing names for the two species of heather found on the island; they call the larger, darker plant MacGregor, and the smaller, paler one MacDonald (ibid., 198). This tickles Carus, especially once he realises that these were enemy clans who fought bitterly during the time of James VI. He proceeds to tell two tales of vengeance featuring the MacGregors. The first concerns the enmity between the Drummonds and MacDonalds, and the second is the story (told by Pennant) of the MacGregors' victory over the Colquhouns and subsequent murder of defenceless members of the Lenox clan. It is in the light of such tales that the ensuing MacGregor proscription can be understood; only those who distinguished themselves in battle service for their country received grace. Carus continues:

Gewiss, diese Begebenheiten deren sich ähnliche in jenen Zeiten viele wiederholt haben, tragen einen wunderlich finstern wilden Charakter, und wenn sie einerseits von der trüben Atmosphäre und dem wilden Lande selbst Farbe annehmen, so muss man sie auch wieder kennen, um den Nordlichtschein den auch sie wieder auf das Land zurückwerfen, zu verstehen. (ibid., 200)

Wichmann was to write of the MacGregor proscription from Argyll, a district, he learns, distinguished not only for its rugged beauty but also for many and terrible clan battles and feuds. Having explained something of the clan hierarchy in a footnote (Wichmann, footnote, 22), he writes:

Dass sich dieser wilde, kräftige clan bis auf's Blut wehrte, war natürlich, und eine Menge Kämpfe
mit wechselseitigem Erfolg die Folge davon, die aber endlich mit der vollständigen Unterdrückung der Mac Gregors endigten, bis nach mehr als hundert Jahren jene grausame Acta von dem britischen Parlamente definitiv wieder abgeschafft wurde.  
(Wichmann, 23)

In fact the 1717 Act of Grace did not pardon the MacGregors, but such details were immaterial to the Germans, for whom the associations of the ill-fated name were all-important.

Most famous of all the MacGregors was of course Rob Roy. Kohl insisted on being taken to see his rough-hewn gravestone at all costs (Kohl, ii, 87ff.) and Wichmann writes at some length about him, while travelling through his haunts between Lochs Katrine and Lomond, justifying this, "Da Rob Roy noch bis auf den heutigen Tag in Schottland in der Erinnerung als eine Art Nationalcharakter lebt, der die Furcht der Reichen war, und ein Freund der Armen" (Wichmann, 69). He tells of his outlawed activities, aimed particularly at the Duke of Montrose and his followers, his practice of blackmail and his outright boldness, culminating in daylight robbery under the very noses of the authorities. It is not hard for the tourist to imagine these deeds:

In der Gegend, in welcher ich mich jetzt befand, waren seine besten Schlupfwinkel gewesen, und sie war vorzüglich dazu geeignet. Enge Thäler, unheimliche, verwilderte Wälder, Felsen und Küste, sowie verworrene Pässe und Moräste boten die schönsten Verstecke.  
( ibid., 71)

Wichmann does not find it surprising that Rob Roy's fame should have grown as it had; not only could his deeds vie with those of England's Robin Hood, but they were, astonishingly, carried out a mere 40 miles from Glasgow:

Dazu kam noch, dass er in seiner Rache mässig und in seinem Glück menschlich, auch nicht grausam oder blutdürstig war, und viele Arme und Hülfbedürftige nach besten Kräften unterstützte, so dass sein Tod in seinem wilden Lande allgemein beklagt wurde.  
( ibid)

Accurate or not, it was a story appealing to the 19th Century visitor, and the fact that Rob Roy died an old man, in his own bed and house by Balquhidder,
not much more than one hundred years before Wichmann's visit, added to this attraction. Wichmann comments that when the play, Rob Roy, is presented at the theatre in Edinburgh, one can be sure of a full house (ibid., 72). As for an account of the clans, Wichmann points his reader to Scott's Waverley; he himself then dismisses the clans along with the Jacobites:

_Da es aber keineswegs meine Absicht ist, eine Geschichte der verschiedenen Clans, der Mac Donalds; Mac Phersons; Camerons; Mac Farlanes; Mac Couls und wie sie alle heissen, zu geben, so will ich nur anführen, dass nach der allgemeinen Entwaffnung (disarming act) gegen 1725, zufolge der unglücklichen Erhebung der Hochlande zu Gunsten der Stewarts im Jahre 1715, der Einfluss der mächtigen clans allmählich gebrochen ward, bis er durch die Besiegung Charles Edward's des Pretender bei Culloden, unweit der Stadt Inverness, am 27. April 1746, gänzlich vernichtet wurde._

(ibid., 23)

The ruined fort at Inversnaid was to bring Ullrich to the subject of the MacGregors, since the fort was built to keep them in hand, and he too, tells of their ruthless plundering and marauding and of their proscription following their slaughter of the Colquhouns at Luss. Clan MacGregor was not to be contained:

_Er war von einer unbezähmbaren Wildheit und Gewalttätigkeit, in ewigen Fehden und in unbeugsamer Opposition gegen jede gesetzliche Bestimmung der schottischen Herrscher._

(Ullrich, 386)

Ullrich believes that the name "Katrine" must derive from the exploits of the MacGregors, "die echten Klephten und Montenegriner Schottlands" (ibid., 386), since "Cateran" means "robber". Ancient hatreds die hard: "In diesen Verheerungen des Niederlandes lebte der Hass der alten Gälische gegen die sächsischen Eindringlinge fort " (ibid.). Nor did the advent of the 19th Century dissipate these underlying resentments; Ullrich tells how a tourist steamer moored on the banks of Loch Katrine had mysteriously disappeared in 1846. It had ever been the right of loch-dwellers to ferry travellers in their boats and the fact that this right had been usurped by tourism and the outsiders it brought with it was not to be accepted without question (ibid., 387).
Ullrich felt past and present confronting each other when he visited Glencoe. Having described the glen's romantic beauty, with its wild, Ossian-associated Cona Water, the sight of anglers brings him down to earth and it is as if he remembers with a jolt that he ought to relate the facts surrounding the Massacre. Having done so, he refers his readers to Talfourd's tragedy, "The Massacre of Glencoe" (ibid., 336ff.). There was no doubt that for most the attraction of the glen lay with Ossian rather than the Massacre, but the latter did not go unnoticed, especially by the earlier visitors. In 1817 Meissner, in writing of the "traurige Berühmtheit" which the Massacre had earned the glen, was content to refer his readers to Harmes' moving account of the event (Meissner, 253), while Löwenthal, five years later, merely remarked in passing that it was a gruesome and terrible incident (Löwenthal, 108). Schopenhauer had allowed herself to become more involved, writing of the scene of the Massacre as

\[\text{(Schopenhauer, 339)}\]

In 1836 Pulszky was to tell the story in more detail, as "eine der rührendsten Tragödien in der neueren Geschichte Schottlands" (Pulszky, 166).

The scenes of the border clan feuds receive comparatively little attention. Kohl and Kalckstein both refer to the ruins of Langholm Castle as the seat of the notorious Armstrongs, but to Kohl the nearby modern monument to General Malcolm was just as interesting (Kohl, ii, 233), while Kalckstein was as impressed by the peaceful beauty of modern Eskdale as he was by the events of the past:

\[\text{(Kalckstein, 183ff.)}\]
Many ruined clan seats are named by the travellers, foremost amongst these the castles of Dumbarton, Dunstaffnage, Invergarry, Inverlochy, Urquhart and Duart, but comparatively few relate the tales attached to them and one can conclude that this was dictated by the information given in the guidebooks. Ullrich's account of sailing past Mull can be seen as a typical reaction:

In conclusion the opinions of three very different travellers can be cited, the first from the Scotophile, Meissner, in 1817, the second from the progressionist, Kohl, in 1842, and the third from Fontane. Meissner's assessment of the clan system and the rôle of the chieftain was both positive and one-sided:

That which had fascinated Meissner in the early years of the century was to appear unhealthy to Kohl twenty-five years later. To Kohl the stories of
clan feuds and heroic valour were nothing if not proof of the "kriegerischen Feudalunkrauts" which had contaminated the earth throughout history. Now at last enlightenment seemed genuinely close:

Die Ereignisse, obgleich still gewoben, sind überall so gross, so ausserordentlich, dass man selbst Den nicht der Extravaganz beschuldigen könnte, der an einen allgemeinen Frieden und an einen nach jenen Gewittern, die wir vielleicht zunächst hier und da noch hängen sehen, kommenden grossen Sonnenschein und ruhige Entwicklung glauben könnte.

(ibid., 174)

Finally, Fontane was to attempt his own balanced view. That he concerned himself with the history and phenomenon of the clans is evident from his earlier preoccupation with the Anglo-Scottish ballads, and from Jenseit des Tweed, but it is also apparent in his essay on the Highlands, in which he tells of Scotland's early history from the times of the Picts, Scots and Vikings. In the latter he makes it clear that while the border feuds
with England and battles for king and country may have been historically far more significant, it was the clan feuds, which took place in the three hundred years between the days of Robert the Bruce and Montrose, which filled him personally with romantic excitement and which had provided poetic inspiration for writers from Shakespeare on (Fontane, 396ff.). His appraisal of the clan spirit takes full account of the overriding, often blind, filial loyalty to clan and chief ("eine kindliche Ergebenheit" (ibid., 402)), even if on his actual tour of the country he had not encountered living proof of this, as Kohl had done sixteen years before. Fontane's essay retains an objective perspective which balances the subjective enthusiasm of Jenseit des Tweed:

Above all, Fontane was fully aware that the clan system possessed both a "Nachtseite" and a "Lichtseite":

The superstition, which had attracted Meissner, was seen by Fontane to be an aspect of the "Nachtseite". The names MacGregor, MacDougall, Maclean and MacDonald did not merely have romantic connotations, yet Fontane has to conclude that the romance had won out in the end:

The text contains a mix of German and English, with some German terms and phrases. The primary language is English, and the document appears to discuss the historical significance of clan feuds and the romantic aspects associated with them. The text also reflects on the balance between the romantic ideal and the reality of clan loyalty.
v. THE JACOBITES

Prinz Charlie ist für viele patriotische Schotten gewissermassen der letzte Strahl der schottischen Unabhängigkeits-Sonne, und da er nicht König ward, so strahlt er sanfter, milder und auf längere Zeit in die schottischen Herzen hinein als der Glanz mancher früheren Königskrone.

"Fareweel to a' our Scotish fame,
Fareweel to our ancient glory!
Fareweel e'en to the Scottish name,
Sae fam'd in martial story!
Now Tweed rins to the ocean
"To mark where England's province stands!
singt Burns von der Union mit England. Und obgleich solche Gesänge keine so praktische Bedeutung mehr haben, wie ähnliche Gesänge von Thomas Moore in Irland, so haben sie nichtsdestoweniger eine grosse poetische und so zu sagen ethnographische.

(Kohl, i, 193f.)

Thus Burns comes to Kohl's aid in his attempt to understand the Jacobite nostalgia. That Prince Charlie held a special place in the hearts of the Scots was not to be disputed - to Kohl's mind it was even proved by the epithet "bonnie" [sic] (ibid, 170) - but the Germans evidently found it hard here to share emotions which they readily indulged in when it came to Mary Queen of Scots. If religion had had something to do with this, it would surely also have been a barrier to sympathising with Mary. The Jacobite Rebellions, the '45 in particular, were perhaps just too close in history, with Germany's part in quelling the uprising undeniable. Kohl remarks of the South Inch in Perth that the Hessian troops camped there in 1746 and he notes that this was not the only instance where German forces had come to the aid of the English parliament in Scotland or Ireland:

"als wenn wir Deutschen für den Sieg des germanischen Stammes über den celtischen noch jetzt arbeiten müssten, wie zu jener Zeit, wo ebenfalls aus jenem Norden von Deutschland, aus Hannover und Hessen etc. Hengist und Horsa nach Grossbritannien hinübersetzten. (ibid., 171)

Kohl might have been reminded that while Hanoverian and Hessian troops fought for the British Government in Scotland, so did a Highland regiment fight for the House of Hannover in Flanders. Spiker referred to the very
same regiment, the 42nd, when he passed the house of the nephew of the regiment's colonel, Colonel Campbell, on crossing Mull in 1816. Spiker was impressed that, despite the fact that the Colonel owned large estates on Mull, he himself lived in a simple house, like that of a German peasant, not far from Loch Na Keal, where Spiker's party were to catch a boat for Staffa. The vessel seemed so old and inadequate that they hesitated to board it; having done so, they found themselves amidst Jacobite sympathisers:


(Spiker, 255)

Once back on the mainland, they visited Inveraray Castle, in the hall of which Spiker was particularly struck with the appearance of several muskets from Jacobite days (ibid., 262). Ullrich, too, was to comment on these weapons 40 years later, interesting to him for the very fact that they were used in support of the Stuart cause (Ullrich, 378).

Meidinger seemed disappointed that Fort Augustus was merely a fortified barracks, but he notes its historical significance in that it was occupied by the rebels in 1746. He makes scant reference to the Jacobite rebellion, but his own opinion emerges in a comment he makes about Montrose. He reports that the town, with its small theatre and race track, was now known for its social life, but was once the scene of the landing of the Stuart Pretender, who, however, soon set sail again for France early in 1716 having accomplished nothing:


(Meidinger, Reisen, 56)
It would be hard perhaps for a German to justify siding with the Stuart cause, when it was the accession of a German to the British throne in 1714 which had given the Jacobites much immediate cause for disenchantment with the new seven-year-old Union. For this reason one might expect the Jacobite struggles under William and Mary to have attracted more attention from the Germans, but only Meidinger, Löwenthal, and, later Fontane, were to mention Killiecrankie. Meidinger dismisses the battle as a confrontation in 1689 between William III's royal English troops and the Highlanders, at which the leader of the latter was killed (ibid., 49). Hailbronner was to make more use of his imagination, the scene of the battle being

\[\text{die furchtbare und berühmte Schlucht von Killiecrankie (in deren tiefen Abgründen die Katarakten zweier Ströme brausen, und in deren Prächtigen der brave Dumden [sic] in grausiger Schlacht das Leben und der König Jacob die Krone verlor)} \ldots\]

(Hailbronner, 313)

Neither mention which side won; to a disinterested observer the encounter at Killiecrankie could well seem little more than yet another clan feud in eruption, and as a result its repercussions in the years to come were not recognised by most visitors, just as with the battle of Bothwell Brig, which preceded Killiecrankie. Kohl, however, shows himself to be well aware of the consequences of these battles and the '15, when he writes of proscription, the scattering of the clans throughout the world and the forfeited titles, such as that of the Chief of Clan Drummond (Kohl, i, 137).

As regards Killiecrankie, Löwenthal, in 1822, and Fontane, in 1858, proved themselves exceptions to the rule. As a staunch Catholic, Löwenthal was perhaps more inclined than most to enquire after the cause and effect of the Covenanting and Jacobite battles. He realised that Dundee had died an heroic and victorious death at Killiecrankie: "Reizend vielmehr als furchtbar gähnen die steilen Abgründe von Killiecranky [sic] ; ein Engpass von hoher militärischer Wichtigkeit, auch wohl die Thermopylen des schottischen Hochlands genannt" (Löwenthal, 120). Although Fontane was undeniably moved by the tales of clan feuds which involved the names he had long found poetic, he was to concede that the Battle of Killiecrankie was "von ungleicher grösserer Bedeutung ... als ein halbes Dutzend Clan-Schlachten der Rind und
Schafe stehlenden Macgregors" (Fontane, 216). He was to appreciate, moreover, that if it had not been for Scott, the beauty of the Pass, its geographical situation and its historical significance would have made it much more frequented than the less imposing Trossachs. On seeing the battlefield, Fontane needed little encouragement to relate the events surrounding the battle (even if he was not entirely accurate in his facts). He well appreciated the salient points: "Bonnie Dundee" was a leader of the people who died a true hero's death, his ill-fated family name, Graham, had been synonymous with the Royalist cause since the time of Montrose, and 17th Century politics in Scotland were such that heads fell no matter which cause the parties espoused: "An derselben Stelle, wo die Häupter der Argyle's in der Treue gegen den Puritanismus fielen, fiel auch das Haupt des grossen Montrose im Dienste des Königthums" (ibid., 218). Yet Dundee was a real popular hero, feared by his enemies as a man of superhuman capabilities with a charmed life, and it was evidently this aspect of Claverhouse's history which interested Fontane:

To Fontane, Dundee's name lived on and, as such, had earned the hero an honourable place in his country's poetic history.

For more than half of the period under study the events of the 1745 Uprising were still just within living memory. Sites connected with the Rebellion were not however generally on the tourist itinerary. Wichmann is one of the few to mention a battle other than Culloden; staying in Musselburgh, his attention was almost bound to be drawn to the nearby site of one of the Jacobite victories at Prestonpans (Wichman, 52). Yet even the decisive Culloden is little discussed. In 1822, while in the north of the country, Löwenthal had referred to the battle field as the site "auf welchem die Ansprüche des letzten Sprösslinge der Stuarts zu nichts wurden" (Löwenthal, 262), but the first recorded visit by a German was that of Carus in 1844. Not even a century had passed since the battle, but by this time
tales of romantic adventure concerning the '45 were told freely, and, since longevity was common in the Highlands, Carus was not surprised to hear of people still alive who could remember the fight. Shortly before his visit a certain Mr. Baily had died in Inverness and the party was shown his gravestone. The man had been known to enjoy telling tales of Culloden, which he remembered from his sixth year. Carus appreciates that the battle was an event which, "wie die ganze abenteuerliche Geschichte des Prätendenten, hier schon mit in den Sagenkreis des Volks eingegangen ist" (Carus, ii, 249). According to Fontane's romantic theories, this fact alone would give the Jacobites poetic value. Carus was to describe the battle-field as viewed from the tower. At that time weapons were still occasionally dug up and the large open graves were still visible:

Hier war es, wo den 16ten April 1746 der Prinz Karl Stuart gegen die Engländer unter Herzog v. Cumberland, den Kampf kämpfte, der 1200 wackern Hochländern und ziemlich eben so viel Engländern das Leben kostete, und der durch das besser-gerichtete Kanonenfeuer der Englischen, und die ungeschickte Leitung der Schotten, bald mit der Flucht des Prätendenten endigte.

((ibid.)

Naturally Carus' overall impression is that of a "traurige Gegend" (ibid.), and it is interesting that through the use of the one little qualifying word, "wacker", he reveals sympathies for the forebears of his Scottish hosts, the heavily outnumbered and outwitted, physically exhausted and poorly commanded Jacobites. Since the German visitors had themselves suffered so recently at the hands of Napoleon, the horrors of so recent a civil war gained little attention from them.

A visit to the Glenfinnan Monument on Loch Shiel was more appealing, surrounded, as it was, by the scenery of the West coast. The monument itself, which the party climbed, despite Carus' fear that it would soon sink into the surrounding bog, had been erected only thirty years before. This was altogether a more gratifying outing for the artist and romantic traveller. The day was dramatic, cloudy, with an occasional streak of sunshine, and the road along Loch Eil led them past ever steeper and rockier birch and pine-clad glens, precipices edged by heather bog. Yet Carus prepares his readers
for a yet finer view at his destination, Loch Shiel. They alighted and walked to the monument:

Wild, lonely and remote, this was the perfect setting for a romantic gathering of Jacobites:

The assembled Jacobites may have been "wenig geeignet", but the picture they must have cut fired the imagination of the visitors one hundred years after.

It was on visiting the distant Windsor Castle that Kalckstein was to see the Glenfinnan Monument's antithesis; incongruously placed in the park, it allowed no room for Romantic inspiration, merely thoughts of martial victory,

Zur Linken des Weges ... erhebt sich zur Verherrlichung des Sieges des Herzogs von Cumberland über den Prätendenten Karl Eduard Stuart bei Culloden ein Obelisk, und auf einer Anhöhe ein in der Form eines Castels erbautes Belvedere mit vierundzwanzig schweren Feldgeschützen, ebenfalls eine Beute aus den Kämpfen gegen den Prätendenten, das sich in dieser idyllischen Umgebung um so kriegerischer ausnimmt. (Kalckstein, 88)
Conversely it was an apparent incongruity which was to come to the sentimental Rellstab's aid when he came across a site connected with the '45. He would much sooner reflect on a romanticised idea of the past from the safety of the peaceful present than dwell on the actualities of past violence and struggle:

Schaut Euch aber doch das Schloss von Doune recht aufmerksam an! Es ist noch ein Zeuge der Kämpfe, die diese Landschaften einst durchbrausten. Denn so tiefer Friede jetzt hier waltet, so unmöglich die Störung desselben scheint; gar so alt ist dieser wohltätige Zustand noch nicht! Es ist erst ein Jahrhundert her, dass auch hier das Schlachtgetümmel tobte. Im Jahr 1745 noch wurde Doune-Castle hartnäckig verteidigt von den Kämpfern, die der Sache Eduards von Schottland anhingen! Noch die englischen Romane am Schluß des vorigen Jahrhunderts und am Anfang des jetzigen haben den Hass zwischen Engländern und Schotten zum häufigen Thema, - jetzt ist er völlig erloschen!

(Rellstab, i, 320)

Most of the German visitors were content to keep their thoughts on the Jacobites within the confines of Waverley associations, which manifested themselves, above all, on visits to Holyrood. Ullrich's comment is typical:

Die interessanteste Reminiscenz, die uns hier auftaucht, ist die an Walter Scotts "Waverley", in welchem der Dichter einen jener Bälle des Prätendenten schilderte. Der unglückliche Prinz, der kühne, treue Fergus Mac Ivor, die edle, hochherzige Flora und die liebliche Rosa Bradwardine schweben vor den Augen unserer Phantasie vorüber.

(Ullrich, 412)

Two of the travellers made notable exceptions to this, namely Pulszky, in 1836, and Fontane, twenty-two years later. After the visit to Glencoe, the conversation in Pulszky's party turned naturally to the Stuart cause, the tragic event of the Massacre, and the '45 Rebellion, "dem Walter Scotts berühmter Roman ein so allgemeines Interesse gegeben hatte" (Pulszky, 166). In Pulszky's view such interest could be taken too far:

Ein Engländer, dem Jemand aus Spass weiss gemacht hatte, er gleiche Napoleon, und der daher mit einer lächerlichen Affektuation die Stellungen des Kaisers stets kopieren wollte, und sich, bloß um ihm mehr zu gleichen, sogar das Tabackschnupfen angewöhnt hatte, schlug die Hände auf den Rücken und proponirte für den nächsten Morgen eine Pilgerfahrt nach Glen Finnan, wo Karl Eduard zuerst den Boden Schottlands betrat und seine Fahne im Winde wehen liess.

(ibid., 166f.)
Pulszky himself declined to join this pilgrimage and instead attempted the ascent of Ben Nevis, while others chose to visit the market at Fort William. The interest in the Jacobites was thus by no means overriding. Yet Pulszky had shown genuine interest in the Jacobite Rebellions as a vital aspect of the history of the Highlands. With the exception of Fontane, he was to write at the greatest length on the subject:

Als im Jahre 1745 die Hochländer zum letztenmale von ihren Nebelbergen herabstiegen, eingehüllt in ihre gestreiften Plaids, beim Ton der Sackpfeife ihre geraden Schwerter schwingend, die niederländischen Laute nicht verstehend, und von ihnen nicht verstanden, da sah das englische Ministerium, dass die Vereinigung der verschiedenen Theile der britischen Insel nur eine zufällige Thatsache geblieben war, ein blosses mechanisches Aggregat, keine unauflosliche chemische Verbindung. Die lange verharrschte Wunde Britannias war aufgebrochen. - Als nun nach hartem Kampfe die Hochländer in ihre zerrissenen unfruchtbaren Gebirge zurückgedrängt, die Entscheidungsschlacht von Culloden Muir verloren, blieb die ganze Aufmerksamkeit der Engländer auf die Heilung dieser Wunde gerichtet, und obgleich ihre medicinischen Talente sonst weniger gerühmt werden, und sie im Abschneiden bei weitem geschickter sind als im Zuheilen, so gelang ihnen doch diese Heilung vortrefflich, und der Pass von Killicrankie trennt nicht mehr zwei verschiedenartige Völker. (ibid., 159f.)

Pulszky goes on to discuss proscription as the means used to quell the Highlanders. He evidently saw the fact that the army still wore the kilt, while the garment was otherwise banned, as a trick played on the Highlanders in order to lure them into military service. On the other hand, he appreciated that the great road and canal building had done much to improve and modernise the isolated Highlands. Like Kohl, he was a firm believer in progress, even at the expense of poetry:

Freilich verwischte sich dadurch das schärfere Gepräge der gälischen Nationalität, aber der politische Gewinn überwiegt bei weitem den Verlust an Poesie, und die Frage bleibt noch zu lösen, ob es auch möglich war, dass die hochländische Nationalität fortbestehe, ob es nicht vielleicht ein Glück war, dass sie im Kampfe tragisch unterging, als dass sie zum Tode reif, auch ohnedem bald hätte dahinwelken müssen. Der Kampf selbst im Jahre 1745 war aber nicht ein Kampf für die Stuarts gegen die Braunschweiger, es war die alte Zeit, die noch einmal auftrat gegen die neus, wie in
Prince Charles Edward had fallen inevitably into pitiful obscurity, and his Highland followers were gradually losing their former identity, merging with their Lowland compatriots.

The pages which Pulszky devotes to this subject can be seen as a foretaste of Fontane's essay on the Highlands. One could almost suspect that Fontane had read Pulszky's work. Both writers appreciate the historical and geographical differences between the Highlands and the Lowlands. Fontane takes his readers quickly through the events from Bruce to Montrose and Flodden to Culloden (Fontane, 396ff.). Like his predecessors he sees the latter in the light of Scott's Waverley. The defeat of Culloden utterly overshadowed the Jacobites' earlier triumphs and yet it was the days of defeat which brought poetry: "Aber glorreicher als diese Tage beinah räthselhaften Sieges, waren die Tage des Unglücks" (ibid., 398). The loyal Jacobites did not give up and rallied round their defeated prince:

Der Prinz entkam, die Sieger wateten in Blut, und der Clangeist wurde gebrochen. Wüst, wild, roh hatte er begonnen, seine Sterbestunde aber sah ihn im Dienst einer Idee und opferfreudig einstehen für das Höchste dessen das Menschenherz fähig ist: für Liebe und Treue.

Later in the essay Fontane writes of the year 1745 as marking the end not only of the Stuart cause but also of the whole clan system. He stresses, however, that this was not a natural death, but induced by the attitude of the Government, proscription, the almost random executions, the military occupation of the Highlands, and, finally, by the Clearances. Fontane's Highlands were to live on only in poetry; the heart of the Pictish kingdom and "das alte Macbeth-Land" were mere shadows of their former selves, depopulated, barren,
grazed by sheep and ruled by foreigners who disturbed the peace for a few
weeks in August to hunt the grouse and ptarmigan (ibid., 404f.)

Fontane gives a less detailed and more emotional account of the Jacobite
history in his chapter on Culloden in Jenseit des Tweed. To walk the ground
on which the Jacobites had fought their last stand brought the events of
1745-6 vividly to life. In retelling those events, Fontane focuses on the
lack of organisation and planning surrounding Culloden and the fact that the
outcome was a foregone conclusion and all individual courage to no avail.
He is fully aware of the emotion involved and uses Burns' "Lovely lass o'
Inverness" to illustrate this (ibid., 239f.). As to the battle-field itself, he writes that the desolate calm of the moor, "die absolute Cede"
(ibid., 241), could not fail to impress the traveller, even if he knew
nothing of the battle which had been fought there. There seems to him to
be a physical and spiritual divide along the line of the burn, between the
"Gartenland von Inverness" and the "Cede des Moorlands", and
this is symbolised in the vegetation:

die eine Wand war dicht mit Disteln bestanden, die andere
war kahl und die Vergissmeinnicht am untersten Rande
derselben, gehörten mehr dem Wasser als dem Boden an.
(ibid., 240)

Fontane was affronted by the wooden canons erected on the "tower of the
last encounter": "Wo wirkliche Kanonen aufgeräumt haben, ist solche Spielerei
nicht am Platz" (ibid., 242). He also relates the recent and farcical
episode concerning the projected, but never completed, battle monument, its
stones now only "ein Monument der Schmach, der Rohheit und des Betrugs"
(ibid., 245). Thus he brings his reader into the unromantic present,
where men are happier to devote their energies to whisky than to remembering
their heroic ancestors. Yet Fontane does not close his account without
adding first, an accustomed piece of humour, and second, a typical anecdote.
Cumberland may have been dissuaded from breakfasting before the fight, but
Fontane and Lepel do not leave the scene until they themselves have break-
fasted on the commander's stone, and "den Herzog von Cumberland aus dem
Felde geschlagen" (ibid., 247). The story of the lawsuit, regarding the
death of Dunmore, finishes the chapter off neatly; the ninety-five-year-
old Captain Greystone, speaking as recently as 1823, brought past and present smoothly together. And, in the light of Fontane's later work, the important parallel between this Culloden witness and the "Völkerschlacht" witness he himself had met on the Leipzig battle-field gives Culloden a human perspective which can be understood by even a distinterested German visitor. Fontane was undoubtedly deeply moved by his visit to Culloden and freely admitted this: "Ich bin über viele Schlachtfelder gegangen, aber keines hat einen so bestimmten Eindruck in mir zurückgelassen" (ibid. 243).
vi. TOWNS OF SPECIAL HISTORIC INTEREST: STIRLING, PERTH AND EDINBURGH.

It was natural that the 19th Century tourist itinerary should include Edinburgh, Stirling, and, whenever possible, Perth. In all three towns the picturesque setting combined with historical significance to form a great attraction for visitors to Scotland.

Stirling


Nun ergreift uns wieder jene unsichtbare Macht, die über dem Boden Schottlands webt! Der mächtige Geist seiner Geschichte, dieser gewaltigen Geschichte voll wilder Kämpfe, kühner Thaten, düsterer Verbrechen! Die alten Helden in eiserner Rüstung steigen auf, ihre Nebelbilder ziehen im düsteren Wettergrau über die Haide; oder sie halten Wacht an den Pforten jener mächtigen Felsenschlösser! — Stirling-Castle! Der Name hat einen Klang, wie ehernes Etwas, das — (Rellstab, i, 303)

Rellstab breaks off here to continue his "Märchen" narrative. Stirling played a vital role in Scotland's history, and Rellstab’s exclamations, if over-exuberant, can be seen as representative of the German reaction. Yet the town was also a renowned beauty spot, and even those who were caught by rain had to admit to this:

Hätten wir einen schönen Tag getroffen, ich glaube, Stirling-Castle wäre geeignet gewesen, den Reisenden zu vermögen, alle seine Weiterreisepläne aufzugeben. Aber so überfiel uns zuletzt gar noch der Regen und vertrieb uns von dieser unvergleichlichen Schaubühne. (Kohl, i, 126)

The opinion that Stirling's fine and historic setting gave it outstanding scenic beauty and interest was shared by all those who visited the town, from Nemnich in 1805–6 (Nemnich, 548f.) to Fontane over fifty years later. The accounts are many, but the visitors all say basically the same thing. Hailbronner's account of his impressions of 1836 can be seen to encompass all the reasons behind Stirling's unsurpassed splendour in the eyes of the German visitors:

Here was all the Romantic traveller could ask for, an historic site set amidst great natural beauty. Accuracy bows to the overall effect; no matter that it was in fact James VI's great-great-great-grandfather who murdered Douglas, or that the twelve battles were not all Scottish victories; what is important is the evocation of past ages, of events peopled with famous names, the whole set against a seemingly perfect romantic landscape. But the vision is not even yet complete:
Es erzeugt einen tiefen Eindruck, vor diesem uralten Schottenpalaste die Hochländer-Soldaten mit ihrem nackten Beinen und althergestammten Kilt und malerisch drapiertem Plaid Wache halten zu sehen, in der Tracht, in der ihre Vorfahren für das Recht ihrer Fürsten kämpften und starben. Allein wenn man alles erschöpft zu haben glaubt, was der schöne Romantismus der Feudalzeit hervorgehoben hat, dann mach man sich erst auf nach Edinburgh und besehe auf dem Wege das alte schön zwischen Bäumen gruppirte Schloss Linlithgow, wo Maria Stuart ihr Leben empfangen, um es nicht ferne davon durch der Schwester Beil wieder zu verlieren, und nun eröffnet sich ein Anblick, der wohl seines Gleichen nicht hat.

(ibid., 332)

And so the reader is led from one romantic site to the next, from Stirling to Edinburgh, the gap neatly bridged by Mary Queen of Scots, through her birth in Linlithgow.

The account of Stirling from Hailbronner's companion, Pulszky, is in many ways similar. He sees Stirling Castle as unique, its strategic position as a royal fortress superb. He goes even further than Hailbronner in pronouncing: "Unübertrefflich ist die Lage des Schlosses in malerischer Hinsicht; sie ist königlicher noch als Windsor" (Pulszky, 175). To many the castle's architecture amounted to, at worst, "ein verworrenes Gemisch kleiner und grosser Gebäude, Thüren, Kammern, Durchgangspforten, Höfe" (Rellstab, i, 311), and, at best, "ein bunt zusammengewürfelter Häuserhaufen, der allen möglichen Jahrhunderten und Baustilen angehört und dem nichts gemeinsam ist, als der Fels darauf er steht, und die Wallmauer, die ihn umzieht" (Fontane, 163). Pulszky, however, managed to get round these drawbacks:

Die Architektur des Schlosses mit seinen kolossalen Caryatiden, mit seinen reichen, phantastischen oft fratzenhaften Verzierungen, die an die poetische äussere Erscheinung des Hofes erinnern, hat etwas so Phantastisches, der Forth, der sich in grossen Schlingungen so oft zurückwendet, wie der Mäander seine kommenden Wellen betrachtet, und nur ungern die Nähe der Burg zu verlassen scheint, hat etwas so Zauberisches, dass man Stirling Castle als das erste Königsschloss der Welt anerkennen muss. Gebieterisch steht es auf isolirten Felsenmassen, die flache Gegend beherrschend, der
Mittelpunkt eines gewaltigen Kreises von Gebirgen, gleich einem mittelalterlichen Könige, der das Volk überragt, der Brennpunkt und die höchste Blüthe des Adels.

(Pulszky, 175f.)

Full accounts of Stirling were to come in particular from Kohl in the 1840's and Fontane in the 1850's. Both devote a whole chapter to the town and dwell on the obvious comparison between Edinburgh and Stirling. Kohl is able to overlook his low opinion of the Castle's varied architectural styles - the least tasteful being in his opinion James V's Palace - by concentrating on the history. Thus he deduces from the design of James III's Parliament Hall, that, far from being the scene for genuine political forum and debate, it had been used as a Royal Chamber, while he observes of the strange mythological figure adorning James V's Palace:

Es ist aber recht, dass man diese Fratzen nicht zerstört, denn als ein Specimen der Geschichte des Geschmacks sind auch sie interessant. Freilich aber - hätten die zerstörungsbürgigen Reformatoren, die nach Jacob V. kamen, statt so mancher herrlichen Abtei, lieber solche Gebäude sich zu ihren Opfern ausgewählt, so stände es besser um uns.

(Kohl, I, 117f.)

James V himself was also of historical interest, notably on account of his habit, like "Harun-Alraschid", of moving in disguise amongst his subjects as "the Cudeman of Ballochgeich" (ibid. 119). The 14th Century Royal Gardens, the scene of many a tournament, likewise attracted Kohl's attention:

Aber das Ohr hat keine Zeit, allen den lehrreichen Erzählungen des gutigen Cicerone zu lauschen; denn das entzückte Auge läuft mit ihm davon, indem es wieder und immer wieder auf die schöne Gegend, die hier eröffnet vor ihm liegt, zurückkehrt.

(ibid., 124)

Kohl asks forgiveness from his readers for dwelling on the view once more, but he cannot resist redescribing it.

Es scheint mir kein Zweifel, dass die Aussicht von Stirling-Castle das Schönste ist, was dieser Art das grossbritannische Königreich bietet, und da nun dieses Königreich selbst eines der schönsten Länder in Europa ist, so gebührt jenem Schlosse einer der reichsten Kränze.

(Kohl, Stid i, 124)
Kohl was not to be put off by a rainy September day, but both Brandes and Förster, in 1850 and 1851, found that even their imagination could not atone for thick mist and pouring rain. Even so, Förster can still muster the words "berühmt" and "malerisch" (Förster, 341), while Brandes finds relief in the knowledge of the Castle's historical significance and association with scenes from "The Lady of the Lake" (Brandes, 57). It is the sense of history, too, which finally overcomes Rellstab, who was to find himself at first greatly disappointed by the architecture of both town and Castle:

Allein dieses Aggregat von Thürmen, Wohngebäuden, befestigten Vorsprüngen, massenhaften Futtermauern, finsteren Thoren mit steinernen Wappen darüber bildet ein Ganze, das unsichtbar, aber mächtig ergreifend, von dem geschichtlichen Reiz umwebt, uns die Seele mit staunendem Ernst erfüllt. (Rellstab, i, 310)

The apparent invincibility causes Rellstab to reflect on violent sieges in European history, but after a page he reins himself in:

Allein was sind das für Betrachtungen bei einer Reise ins Hochland, in dessen tiefer Natureinsamkeit wir aller Politik vergessen wollen, hier an der Schwelle derselben, wo uns seine nebelblauen Alpenhöhen schon ganz aus der Nähe begrüssen? Hier auf Schloss Stirling, wo uns Betrachtungen ganz anderer Art locken, die der blühenden Landschaft rings umher? - Kommt, tretet mit mir auf die Spitze dieses Bastions! Schaut Euch um! Welch' ein reiches Land breitet sich zu Euren Füssen aus! (ibid. 312f.)

Unlike his predecessors, he was lucky to enjoy a fine clear day and he proceeds to describe the view, the bustle of town life below contrasted with the solitude of the distant hills, the railway train with the simple song of a shepherd. The sun sets, leaving the landscape golden and red, throwing long dark blue shadows over the hills. It little matters whether this blissful scene is really that which Rellstab witnessed; it is the lasting impression which counts:

Es gibt unvergessliche Augenblicke, die aus einer Ueberfülle von Eindrücken, welche sich in einen kurzen Zeitraum drängen, als einzelne Lichtpunkte in die weiteste Ferne nachschimmern. So dieser Abend auf dem alten schottischen Königsschloss, von dem man den Umkreis des Landes so weit hin Überschaut! (ibid., 314)
As they descended from the Castle, their guide, the soldier "mit dem offenen, sanften Angesicht" told them the strange-sounding names of the mountains around, the castles and the towns and villages. The castle rock behind them becomes all the more majestic. Here was cause indeed for indulging the Romantic imagination!

Die Abendnebel stiegen auf im Thal. Der Flügel der Geschichte rauschte wie aus dunkler Ferne und wehte uns mit heiligen Schauern an, - die Heldengestalten der Fürsten und Ritter Schottlands zogen in den Nebeln und Wolken dahin, über die Schlachtfelder, wo ihr Blut geflossen, wo ihre Schilder und Schwerter klingten, ihre Harnische rasselten! - Jetzt ruhen die einst blutgetränkten, rossezerstampften Gefilde im tiefsten Frieden, und taudendäumger Segen entkeimt dem Boden. - Glückliches Land! - Schöner unvergesslicher Abend! - (ibid., 315)

Ullrich, arriving in Stirling tired after a long day's walk, during which "das ewige Point de Vue" of the Castle ahead of him had in itself become tiring, has to admit that, on finally reaching it, it is indeed impressive:

Es liegt etwas Überraschendes, Trutziges und Herrscherisches in diesem Höhenvorsprung, und es lässt sich begreifen, wie die alten schottischen Könige ihn zuweilen zu ihrer Residenz erwählten. Sie besassen in ihm ein unschütterliches Bollwerk gegen die schwer zu bändigenden Hochlands-Clans. Und so manche dunkle Tragödie hat auf diesem starken Felsen gespielt.

(Ullrich, 399)

He writes of the Ladies Rock and of the description of festivities here in "The Lady of the Lake", but he does not wish to dwell on the past and stresses that "die alten Tage der Romantik sind vorüber" (ibid.).

Fontane's account of his visit to Stirling the following year, 1858, adds little new as regards straight description, but is made the more complete through narrative embellishments, from the description of his and Lepel's arrival at the Hotel Royal to the account of the soldiers playing quoits, and from the encounter with the handsome sergeant to their conversation with the gunsmith, Mr. Wood, and his friendly German wife. Fontane's use of imagery is also memorable; not only do the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling seem to him like two lions, the former lying, the latter sitting (Fontane, 159),
but the Ladies Rock and the Mole Hill appear like lion cubs, and the castle ramparts seem to resemble a "Zaubergürtel" (ibid., 165f.). Also, instead of a literal description of the landscape, Fontane reflects on the inner reaction of the beholder who can hear "die stille romantische Sprache" (ibid., 165). Only after he has thus prepared his reader does he move on to historical reflection on the battlefields (of which he contrives to count fourteen!), and, above all, the events which took place in the Douglas Room and which he proceeds to recount (ibid. 167ff.). The pretty teenage girl who had shown Rellstab Knox's pulpit (Rellstab, i, 310)'seems devoid of character in comparison with Fontane's Mr. Wood. The latter not only shows Fontane and Lepel the pulpit and their first sight of a Lochaber axe, used on no less an occasion than Bannockburn; he is also portrayed as a character in his own right, a piece of living history.

Perth

If Stirling had excited Fontana's sense of history, Perth was to disappoint him. While others could write encouragingly of the town's beauty, Fontane and Lepel were to find themselves overwhelmed by the dullness of their enforced Sabbath stay in the town. Scott had made matters worse by his descriptions in The Fair Maid of Perth - Fontana's hopes had been falsely raised. Yet he had to concede that Perth's situation was very fine and to admit to the town's historical significance as a former royal residence, the scene of James I's murder, Knox's sermons and the Gowrie Conspiracy. He retells the plot of the latter with accustomed enjoyment (Fontane, 201f.). In contrast to other chapters, however, Fontane dwells more on the present than the past while in Perth, from Mr. Pople's English Hotel to the English fishing gentlemen. Somehow Perth seemed to lack that romantic poetry in which other parts of Scotland abounded for Fontana.

Kohl had also found himself involved in the life of modern day Perth rather than its historical memories on his visit in 1842. While he mentions the interesting historical sites and the events connected with them, he is matter-of-fact in his approach: "Ich sah sie leider nicht, weil man eben nicht Alles sehen kann" (Kohl, i, 164). He saw Perth as a modern and
fashionable centre with luxury goods in its shops, yet at the same time he understood that the city had earned its epithets, "the Auld", "the Fair" and "the Saint" [sic] (ibid. 195):

Perth ist wiederum ein Ort, von welchem Enthusiasten sagen würden, dass man davon in Hexametern schreiben müsste, wenn man der Stadt und sich selber ein Genüge thun wolle.

That none of the travellers do eulogise the Fair City in hexameters is neither here nor there; it is enough that Perth, like Stirling, rests in an aura of historical significance. Kohl hears Perth called "Noble Perth" and he likens its relation to nearby industrial Dundee to that of an impoverished baron to an immensely wealthy citizen; the city's noble and ancient exterior and its famous name give it the upper hand:

Die Avenueen zu der Stadt, ihr Inneres, ihr Aeusseres, ihr Nahes und Fernes ist Alles gleich schön und anziehend, und der romantischen und historischen Erinnerungen begegnen Einen hier viele von der interessantesten Art.

To Brandes, in 1850, Perth's modern railway bridge was as impressive as the fact that the city had played an important rôle in the country's history. Nonetheless, like Kohl, he was to wish that he could stay longer and explore the famous historical sites nearby, Scone, Glamis, Birnam and Dunsinane (Brandes 56ff.). It had been the earlier visitors who had mentioned the Romans' part in the history of Perth, Hailbronner describing it as "die schöne Bertha, welche die Römer einst mit der siebenhügeligen Roma verglichen, und von wo das Auge unaufgehalten nach Birnamshill und Macbethcastle schweifen kann" (Hailbronner, 313). Nearly twenty years before, in 1817, Meissner had approached the town from the north and felt he could well understand Tacitus' account of Agricola's army exclaiming "Ecce Tiberim!":

Die Gegend hat das hüglichte Ansehen der römischen Campagne, die Krümmungen des Tay, begrenzt hinten durch Kinnout [sic] - craigs ruft die Umgebungen bei ponte molle ins Gedächtniss zurück, und die Form des schönen Kinnout hat Aehnlichkeit mit dem monte Mario bei Rom.

(Meissner, 275)
Carus was to dwell more on Perth's history on his visit in 1844. He writes, for instance, of the assassination of James I in the Blackfriars Convent and of the murder at the altar of St. John's of Edward III's brother, the Earl of Cornwall, killed by the King's own hand, and he also described his enjoyment of a drive to Kinfauns past Scone (Carus, ii, 272f.). Johanna Schopenhauer, who had dwelt only on the present while in the towns of both Stirling and Perth, left one of the few accounts of a visit to Scone Palace. At the time of her visit, in 1803, Lord Mansfield was building the new house and Schopenhauer deemed it right and proper that he had left the original palace untouched, considering its great age and former importance. Yet she is shocked by its condition, in such bad repair that even tradesmen or brokers would scarcely put up with it as a summer residence! In short, it is "eine Art Rattennest, eher einer alten Scheune, als einem Pallast ähnlich" (Schopenhauer, 304). However, on being shown round the house and seeing ancient rooms and faded remains of past splendour, she tries to imagine it as it had been, though the insignificance of the rooms and furnishings makes this hard. She merely states in passing that the Kings of Scotland were once crowned in the nearby chapel, now the Mansfield family burial ground. Instead her interest was truly roused by a piece of Mary Queen of Scots' embroidery and the bed in which she had slept while in captivity in Loch Leven Castle. By the time of Kohl's visit, forty years later, the public was denied entry to Scone: "das undelicate und reliquienbegierige Publicum hatte die Vorhänge seines Bettes der Königin Maria von Schottland der Franzen und anderer Zierrathen beraubt" (Kohl, i, 163).

While the later visitors, notably Kohl, Carus and Fontane, were to express their regret at not being able to view Scone, Meissner and Meidinger had both visited the palace, Meissner on an invitation from the gardener. Neither of the Germans were impressed with the Earl of Mansfield's choice of Gothic architectural style - "die Verhältnisse desselben sind weder alt noch neu, folglich schlecht" (Meissner, 276) - but Meissner saw fit to praise its park and gardens and the fine red sandstone of the buildings, while Meidinger was impressed by the gallery with its mural of hunting motifs. Both showed interest in the Palace's history, however, and in the Stone of
Destiny, otherwise mentioned only by Fontane (Fontane, 211). In conclusion, Meidinger was to make a general observation regarding Scotland's royal residences:

Bei dieser Gelegenheit halte ich für nöthig zu bemerken, dass die schottischen Könige im Lande umher eine Menge Lustschlösser hatten, die sie Palläste (palaces) nannten, die aber gewöhnlich nichts als alte unansehnliche Burgen waren.

(Meidinger, Reisen, 48)

There was one royal palace which never failed to excite the German's interest, however, and that was Holyrood.

Edinburgh and Holyrood

Edinburgh
Hier war es die Majestät nordischer Wunder, die kühnste Gestalt wilder Romantik im Schmuck vergangener Jahrhunderte, der doch die jugendliche Braut des Lebens, der Gegenwart und Wirklichkeit, von glänzender Schönheit strahlend, warmglühend in den Armen ruhte.

(Rellstab, 1, 211ff.)

Thus Rellstab concludes his description of his first sight of Edinburgh, glowing golden in a fiery sunrise. Only Venice had touched his senses in a like manner. Everything seemed to combine in Edinburgh to make it the perfect tourist destination, a modern city in an historic setting, with many of its historic buildings still standing as witnesses to both the old and the new. As Kohl was to write, the chief historical attraction of Edinburgh was then, as now, the Royal Mile:

Eine Promenade von der Höhe des Schlossebergs die Highstreet und Canongate hinab bis nach Holyroodhouse und seinen schönen Gärten im Thale gehört zu den interessantesten städtischen Spaziergängen, die man irgendwo machen kann.

(Kohl, i, 57)

The German visitors frequently remark on such sites as John Knox's House, the White Horse Inn, St. Giles Cathedral, and, above all, the Old Tolbooth, the Heart of Midlothian, "wo wir alle zusammen ein Mal gestanden haben" (ibid., i, 64), or, as Lewald put it, "das uns Allen in unserer Jugend wohl einer der bekanntesten Punkte Schottlands gewesen ist" (Lewald, ii, 264).

On her visit to Edinburgh Fanny Lewald benefit ed greatly from the company
of Robert Chambers, who took his guests on a Sunday drive through the Old Town, giving them his own guided tour. Many of the German visitors, Fontane above all, made good use of Chambers' Traditions of Edinburgh while visiting the capital, but other guide-books, too, provided the historical facts when the tourist needed help in bringing the past to life. Yet by no means all the travellers possessed Fontane's tireless ability to step back into the past. Lewald for one was to confess to her own inability to imagine just how the Cross of Midlothian, for instance, might have looked, when all she had to go on were the cobblestone markers in the street and the assurance of the guide-book that this was indeed where the City Cross had stood. The fact that so many of Edinburgh's historic buildings were still standing was thus a great aid to the visitor such as herself "bei diesem, der Vorzeit nachspürenden Umherwandern" (ibid.):


(ibid. 262)

Lewald tries to imagine how it must have been for those condemned inmates of the Old Tolbooth on their last night on earth in the cell beneath Parliament House. Her reflection leads her into an attack on capital punishment in modern Britain; indeed, the following week the execution of a man who had murdered two wives was due to take place (ibid., ii, 234f.). Kohl evidently found it easier to reconcile past and present. He enjoyed the confrontation of old and new as he walked the streets of Edinburgh; it was exciting to him to encounter today's crowd at the Netherbow, while visiting the graves of yesterday's people in the Canongate and Greyfriars Churchyards (Kohl, i, 71).

It was no chance that Fontane should devote about one third of his account to Edinburgh, and much of that space to historical anecdote. While he was greatly moved by Stirling and Culloden, Flodden and Loch Leven, Edinburgh was, historically, the vital hub, providing him with an unrivalled wealth of poetically romantic material. Merely to read the titles of his early chapters shows this. Modern Edinburgh recedes into the background, although it is never forgotten and emerges briefly at intervals, whether at breakfast in Johnstons Hotel, in the Grassmarket Closes, or on
the evening stroll through the High Street and up to St. Anthony's Chapel. Fontane relates story after story with evident delight; the history he retells, from the Queensberry House murder to the scaling of the Castle Rock, and from the feud between Moray and Argyle to the stories of the Porteous Mob and Bowed Joseph, are all carefully structured to give the reader a guided tour of the Royal Mile, from the starting point at Holyrood to the return to St. Anthony's Chapel. It is scarcely relevant to investigate Fontane's unacknowledged sources, for all the visitors of his day had recourse to Scott's Tales of a Grandfather, Chambers' Traditions of Edinburgh and such guide-books as Black's and Anderson's, and only a few troubled to acknowledge these. It is enough to point out that many sections of Jenseit des Tweed - for instance "Moray House" and "West Bow" (Fontane, 61ff. & 85ff.) - were taken directly from Chambers, while the story of the Porteous Mob was also to be found in the Tales of a Grandfather, where Fontane (like Brandes) undoubtedly found the account of Randolph's taking of Edinburgh Castle (Fontane, 50ff.).

Two of Edinburgh's historical sites were to gain most attention, the Castle and Holyrood. As if in recognition of this, Fontane was to devote a chapter to each. Many only visited the Castle in order to enjoy and describe the view, but others wrote of its history, the most popular story being that of the infant James VI being lowered to safety in a basket. The sight of the Regalia and Mons Meg also occasioned some reflection.

Like Stirling Castle, Edinburgh Castle was not thought to be of any architectural merit, even though its position and view were undeniably magnificent. Kohl was even to write:

\[\text{Es gibt fast in jeder, einigermassen bedeutenden englischen Stadt einen solchen Schlossberg mit einer alten oder neuen Befestigung und mit einer alten oder neuen Königs- oder Gouverneursresidenz. Es ist sonderbar, sie sehen sich fast alle untereinander ähnlich. Sie gleichen mehr oder weniger dem Windsor-Castle.} \]

(Kohl, i, 59)

In introducing his account of Randolph's scaling of the Castle Rock, Brandes writes:
There was little to see at the Castle for the earlier visitors. In 1816 Spiker had reported that the buildings were only open to the public in times of peace (Spiker, 202); it was not until two years later that the Crown Jewels were rediscovered. Kohl was particularly fascinated by their history and, as if to compensate for the fact that he was not impressed by the Castle buildings, he writes at length of the Regalia's story and Walter Scott's part in it: "Diese schottischen Kroninsignien haben so merkwürdige Schicksale gehabt, wie ausser der ungarischen Krone kaum andere von Europa" (Kohl, i, 57). Having disappeared for over a century, they were rediscovered, and after vomiting the wall was pulled down towards the sunlight, or at least the lowest room, in which they burned constantly, the spermaceti candles in an iron lattice lie, not accessible.

Kalckstein was also to tell the Jewels' story and to express his surprise that they were kept in such a small, low, dark, candle-lit room (Kalckstein, 193f.). Lewald also gave a fairly detailed description of the treasure; she considered the crown itself "wirklich schön, und in dem dunklen Raume hatte das Leuchten der Juwelen etwas märchenhaft Anmuthendes" (Lewald, ii, 224). Kohl was to find the whole story particularly interesting historically, since he sees it as proof that there were members of the Scottish nobility who long mistrusted the Union and cherished hopes of a return to Scotland's former independent state. Since the Castle was not in Jacobite hands during the '45 the jewels were not disturbed at that time either. He describes the insignia, in particular the cairngorms in James V's sceptre, stones of which the Scots are so proud. Of the fact that the crown itself was supposed to have been forged for Robert the Bruce, Kohl remarks wryly:
in Schottland soll noch immer Alles wo möglich von Robert Bruce herrühren, wie in Deutschland von Karl dem Grossen, wie in Ungarn von Stephan dem Heiligen, wie in Russland von Monomach....

(Kohl, i, 58)

The dark chamber in which the Crown Jewels are displayed also strikes Carus and the atmosphere, created by the wall lamps, illuminating the insignia causes him to reflect further:

Mir machten diese Schätze eigne Gedanken! - Schottland unterscheidet sich im Ganzen und Grossen wirklich bedeutend von England - es ist ein ander Land, eine andre Luft, ein ander Volksstamm; die eigenthümliche Kühnheit und Mächtigkeit dieser seiner Hauptstadt scheint ganz entschieden auf einen eignen Herrscher Anspruch zu machen, - und - einverleibt ist es nun dem Reiche der Engländer, Edinburgh hat aufgehört ein Königssitz zu sein, und diese Kleinodien liegen hier im dunklen Gewölbe wie im Grabe, und hoffen vergeblich auf eine fröhliche Auferstehung. - Es ist sonderbar, wie das Geschick der Zeiten mit Reichen wie mit Personen umgeht, sie erhebt, erniedrigt, befreit und wieder in Ketten schlägt! -

(Carus, ii, 292f.)

Now Scotland is one with England, peacefully united, and many of the foremost British statesmen are and have been Scotsmen, the present Lord Aberdeen an example of this. Carus finds he cannot leave the matter there:

...und doch - man gedenkt unwillkürlich, wenn man diese Krone sieht, des unglücklichen Hauptes, welches zuletzt sie trug und welches seinen Nacken dem blutigen Henkerbeil beugen musste:

(ibid. 293)

He does not even need to name the owner of the head thus referred to, since his German readers would know at once whom he meant:

- Der trübe melancholische Ausdruck, den man auf ächt schottischen Gesichtern so oft wahrnimmt und der die Bezeichnung - un sombre Ecossais - so vielfältig rechtfertigt, er hat mir doch zuweilen, wie mit ihrer feuchten, dunklen Nebelluft, auch damit zusammenzuhängen geschehen, dass diesen Männern oftmals vorschwebt, wie mit dem Fall des Hauptes jener schönen Maria, auch die Krone Schottlands fiel und zerbrrach!

(ibid.)

Lewald introduced her version of the history of the Regalia as follows:
She goes on to tell of the rescue of the Jewels from Dunottar Castle by the minister's wife and her maid in the time of Cromwell.\(^3^0\) To Lewald the story was a true example of "weiblicher Muth" (ibid. 225). She was to give a different interpretation to Kohl of the motive behind the concealment of the Jewels in Edinburgh Castle, believing it to be a safety measure on the part of those in favour of the Union so as to avoid a resurgence of patriotic fervour amongst the Scottish people. Lewald was impressed that the people should have been so jubilant at the news of the Regalia's rediscovery, 110 years after its disappearance, that they had raised the royal flag and treated the day as a feast day. That had been over thirty years before her visit:

Seit dem ist der Kronraum dem Publikum wieder beständig zugänglich geblieben, und die uns begleitenden jungen Schotten erzählten uns mit Stolz von der Aufopferung, welcher diese Juwelen ihre Rettung verdankten.

(ibid. 228)

Fontane's opinion of Edinburgh Castle differs little from that of his predecessors; he finds the setting and view impressive, but the actual buildings modern and therefore unremarkable. As to the history, having briefly outlined the Castle's rôle in the times of Mary Queen of Scots and Bonnie Prince Charlie, Fontane, too, concentrates on the more romantic tale of Randolph's scaling of the Castle Rock, comparing the youthful and amorous feats of the old man who showed him the way to a more famous lover: "Der vielbesungene Schwimmer zwischen Sestos und Abydos erscheint im Vergleich mit diesem Schotten wie ein Usurpator, der Kränze trägt, die ihm nicht gebühren" (Fontane, 52). But Fontane's account does differ in one important aspect. He is left coldly indifferent by the sight of the Crown Jewels. While others had been content with the thought that Bruce may have worn the Crown and James V carried the Sceptre, this was not enough for Fontane, who
required a more specific and poetic link to indulge his romantic need. He paid his sixpence and filed into the room, indifferent even to the guide's monotonous commentary, and all out of a sense of touristic duty - "Pflichtschuldigst" (ibid.). While the Tower of London, even if likewise mostly modern, could offer the visitor some truly remarkable sights, Edinburgh Castle has only two worth seeing in Fontane's view. Both of these are connected with Scottish queens, namely St. Margaret's Chapel and Queen Mary's Room. The latter gives him the excuse he had been waiting for, to discuss the portraits of Mary (ibid. 54ff.). He follows this with the story of James VI's birth, concluding "dass er, in Gegensatz zu den Geschicken seiner Familie, in der von jeher ein früher und unnatürlicher Tod die Regel war, bestimmt war, zu leben " (ibid., 57). Even in the incident with the officious English soldier and the old Scots sailor with which he finishes the chapter, Fontane relates the present to the past. The animosity shown by the old Scotsman towards the English 'intruder' was in Fontane's opinion a natural result of the Scots' resentment of the English feeling of superiority towards them. The English were well aware of this and laughed at it, but to the Scots it was no laughing matter:

Das Komische war, dass sein schottischer Patriotismus diese Southrons wie Eindringlinge, wie Feinde behandelte, als ob ein Königreich Grossbritannien gar nicht existiere und das siegreiche England nur wieder mal erschienen sei, um eine Besatzung in die eroberte schottische Hauptstadt zu legen. Diesem Gefühl eines Gegensatzes zwischen Sieger und Besiegten bin ich auf meinen Wanderungen durch Schottland ausserordentlich oft begegnet. (ibid. 59)

Holyrood

Dem alten Schlosse Pallace of Holyrood-House, welches seit der Regierung Jacobs V. bis zu der Carls II. mehrmals abgebrochen und wiedererbaut wurde, gibt die Erinnerung an die unglückliche Maria Stuart, die hier gelebt hat, ein besonderes Interesse. (Otto, 298)

Thirty-five years after Otto had written these words Ullrich could still write: "Wir pilgern nach Holyrood" (Ullrich, 411). The following year Fontane was to make the situation quite plain; very few of the thousands
who made their way to Holyrood each year wanted to see the Abbey, once so important: "Die Abtei hat längst aufgehört, eine Pilgerstätte zu sein, der Palast ist es geworden" (Fontane, 20). Thanks largely to Schiller, the Germans more than any other foreign visitors looked on a visit to Holyrood as a pilgrimage to the hallowed ground where Maria Stuart once walked and talked, prayed and slept, was crowned and married, and, above all, where she watched her favourite, Rizzio, meet his bloody end.

Holyrood was not only attractive for its connections with Mary, however, and before looking at the attitudes to the fateful queen such as were prompted by a Holyrood visit, it is interesting to see what else caught the visitors' attention. Works such as Strahlheim's Wundermappe, of 1836, gave German readers information at home about Holyrood; in that work Strahlheim includes an engraving of the Palace and relates the history of both the Abbey and of the Palace from James V's time. All the significant events are listed, Mary's residence there, James VI's court, the house's partial destruction by Cromwell's troops, Charles II's rebuilding, its occupation first by the Young Pretender, then Cumberland, and finally the exiled Comte d'Artois' residence there in recent times. Queen Mary's Apartments are said to be the most interesting part of the house and Rizzio's murder is, predictably, described. The attraction of the Abbey ruins and the fact that Holyrood grounds still serve as a debtor's sanctuary are also referred to (Strahlheim, iii, 393-6). Such, then, was the sort of information readily available to travellers before they left Germany. Once in Edinburgh, the guide books naturally augmented this.

To Johanna Schopenhauer, in 1803, the Comte d'Artois' exile at Holyrood the previous decade was scarcely history, but her interest in the Bourbon's apartments reflects on Holyrood as an historic building. She found the Palace to be an utterly indistinctive and old fashioned castle, albeit preferable to St. James Palace as a royal residence. Schopenhauer was astonished at the condition of the apartments in which d'Artois and his court had lived: "sie sind so ganz bürgerlich einfach, dass sie ihn doch oft an die Vergänglichkeit aller irdischen Dinge erinnert haben müssen" (Schopenhauer, 260). Schopenhauer enjoys picturing the exiled count and
his court of emigrés; she indulges here in the sort of sympathy which later German visitors were to bestow on Mary Queen of Scots while visiting Holyrood. Of those who came after Schopenhauer many were to refer to the French royal family's exile, but none with Schopenhauer's concern. Spiker and Schinkel, for instance, were more interested in Holyrood's architecture and the works of art to be found there (Spiker, 200ff. & Schinkel, iii, 94ff.).

Pulszky visited Holyrood in 1836, shortly after Charles X's second stay there. Like so many, he was to find the palace gloomy and depressing and his opinion of the Bourbon's apartments confirms this:

-Sie sehen alle vergelbt und abgebleicht aus, mit ihren fahlen Tapeten und nachgedunkelten Oelgemälden mittelmässiger Meister und stehen im Einklangs mit der einsamen Lage des Schlosses in der Tiefe des abgelegenen Thales, ein geeigneter Aufenthalt für die gefallene Grösse. (Pulszky, 182)

To Pulszky the whole Palace gave this impression:

-Es ist im Style des Anfangs des siebzehnten Jahrhundert's gebaut, schwerfällig und geschmörkelt, und macht durch sein Aeusseres durchaus keinen Effekt. Um so melancholischer ist aber das Innere, und die nächste Umgebung. Wer sollte nicht mit Schmerz erfüllt werden, wenn er die rauchgeschwärzten Ruinen der reichen gothischen Kapelle sieht, der schon als Kunstwerk jene Unverletzbarkeit gebührte, die ihre Altare nicht gewähren konnten, ja nicht einmal die Nähe des Königshauses. (Ibid., 181)

But not all the visitors felt Holyrood to be so oppressive. The ancient rôle of Holyrood as a debtor's refuge interested many. Schinkel remarks that the Bourbon's stay cannot have been very enjoyable, since he was so heavily in debt that he could only move outside the Palace grounds on Sundays when he could not be arrested. By 1842 Kohl could still hear of cases where folk living in the houses surrounding Holyrood could let rooms for a good price to debtors of far higher rank than themselves. Kohl was to be struck by the similarities between the Scottish and French royal families; both reigned through revolutions, each suffered the execution of one of its members, banishment (at the hands of Cromwell and Napoleon respectively), restoration, another revolution and period of exile, the crowning by another (William III and
Louis Philippe), and, finally, both left behind a Pretender (Charles and Henry V).

The visitors were unanimous in their low opinion of the Picture Gallery. Meissner, Schinkel and Lewald spoke for all in pronouncing the portraits "sämtlich elende Schmierereien", "von entsetzlicher Arbeit" and a mere "historische Dekoration" (Meissner, 211; Schinkel, iii, 94; Lewald, ii, 217). Lewald likened the royal portraits to the paintings of the German Kaisers in the "Frankfurter Römer". 34 They all looked the same to her: "derb, langnasig, roth, mehrentheils gescheut und durchweg roh". In short: "Es ist reine Chablonenarbeit" (Lewald, ii, 217). Ullrich was to find his enjoyment marred by the inauthenticity of the Gallery - "Es fehlt ihm der eigenthümliche historische Typus eines wirklichen Ahnensaales" (Ullrich, 412) - while Fontane simply deemed the paintings "komisch" (Fontane, 25). Fontane, who translates de Witt's contract for the job, finds it strange that anyone should have troubled to restore those of the paintings which had been damaged by troops during the '45. At the thought of the '45, he is more than happy to turn his mind to the ball which Bonnie Prince Charlie held in the Gallery, as described in Waverley. Kohl, questioning the reason for the portraits' inadequacy, concludes that it is partly on account of their dark colour and surroundings, but also partly because some of the kings themselves did not
exist, rendering the portraits mere figments of de Witt's imagination. He observes that, like the Irish, the Scots historians, even Buchanan, were noted for recording the ancient Celtic lore of the bards as fact:

Ich glaube, es gibt keine anderen Nationen in Europa, die mit ihren geschichtlichen Prätentionen so weit in das Dunkel der Jahrhunderte hinaufgegangen sind, - so lange Reihen von Königen vor wie nach Christi Geburt aufzählen, - so genau detaillieren, was sich unter der Herrschaft eines jeden dieser Könige ereignet, - so bestimmt den Charakter, die Lebensweise, die Ältern, Grossältern, Brüder und Vettern dieser fingirten Könige kennen, - wie die Irlander und Schotten, die darin wirklich ganz bewundernswerth und einzig dastehen. Ein Geschichtsschreiber kann über ihre Berichte sich leicht hinwegsetzen und sie ohne Weiteres als Fabeln verwerfen. Aber der Psycholog und Ethnograph muss sie kennen und sie lesen, weil sie eine psychologisch und ethnologisch interessante Erscheinung sind.

(Kohl, 1, 83)

Two years later, in 1844, Carus was to be puzzled by Holyrood. Like so many of his countrymen, he found the word "palace" a misnomer:

Dabei ist die Physisognomie des Innern sonderbar - es ist nicht neu, es ist nicht alt, nicht modern englisch elegant, nicht alterthümlich französisch und schwerfällig; es ist nicht ganz wüste, es ist nicht bewohnt - nicht finster und auch nicht heiter - kurz, es ist schwer, den eigentlichen Charakter des Ganzen anders zu schildern als durch diese Widersprüche -

(Carus, 302)

Carus was less concerned than Kohl about the inauthenticity of the Kings' portraits; instead his sympathy went out to the artist, de Witt, who reputedly received no payment for his monumental labour.

Fanny Lewald was to comment on the portrait of Nell Gwyn, looking down "in strahlender Schönheit" on the bed which had been used by Charles II (Lewald, ii, 214). Fontane was to stress the irony that after Charles II, first Bonnie Prince Charlie and then his conqueror, Cumberland, had slept in the bed (Fontane, 27). By the time of Fontane's visit in 1858, Queen Victoria stayed regularly at Holyrood on her way to Balmoral. It is as if he enjoys playing with his readers' patience in keeping them back from Mary's rooms in order to tell them of the modern Queen's modern apartments, which he himself viewed
"gewissenhaft", adding reassuringly, "und die nicht sonderlich interessante Inspektion schliesst man mit der beruhigenden Gewissheit, dass kein Rizzio in diesen Räumen ermordet worden sei" (ibid., 23).

Rellstab had been so disturbed by the gloomy exterior of Holyrood that he preferred to hurry away and forego even the view of Mary's Apartments:


There was no doubt that the Germans felt most at ease in the Abbey ruins, "schöne Ruinen, wie ich sie nennen möchte" (Ullrich, 416). Carus was to wax lyrical in such romantic surroundings:

Gross und ernst empfangen die Reihen der Bogen und Pfeiler der zerstörten Kirche den Eintretenden; als Dach wölbt sich des Himmels Blau über den weiten perspektivischen Raum und noch steht das reichverzierte gotische Portal, welches die letzten schottischen Könige erbaut haben, und durch welches der Krönungszug einging.

(Carus, ii, 301)

Even as a mixture of styles it must formerly have been an imposing structure, comparable with the English cathedrals still standing. But there is no comparison with the unsurpassable Tintern Abbey:

Dabei entbehren die Mauern gänzlich jener romantischen Bekleidung einer fortwuchernden Pflanzenwelt, wodurch erst der ganze Reiz des dem Naturgeist zurückgegebenen Menschenwerks entsteht; nichtsdestoweniger muss im Dämmerlicht des Abends oder im Mondschein auch hier eine tiefere Saite des Gefühls nachhallend anklangen.

(ibid., 302)

Carus wanders among the ruined pillars and surviving gravestones, partial memories to the buried, "und hätte mich gern mehr vertieft in das seltsam Eigenthümliche dieser altschottischen Kirchenhalle",
aber der Führer rief zur Betrachtung der Königsburg, welche erst im sechszehnten Jahrhundert hier, gleichsam ein Schirm der nahen Kirche und eines in Schottland immer mächtigen Clerus, aufgestiegen ist. 

Fanny Lewald's remark concerning the Abbey ruins is typical of this Romantic attitude; she finds it "eine prächtige, aber ganz zerstörte Kirche, die jedoch nie schöner gewesen sein kann, als in diesem Verfall" (Lewald, ii, 212). She enjoys walking through the ruins, setting for the marriage of Mary and Darnley, burial-place of many Scottish lords and members of the nobility, from the recent and distant past. Knowledge of this enhances the view:

Dem Eingange gegenüber erhebt sich über dem einstigen Altar schlank und frei die ganze Structur eines Fensterbogens, an dem alle Steinarbeit bis zu den kleinsten Zierrathen erhalten ist. Er ist reich von glänzend grünem Epheu umrankt, und bildet den Rahmen zu einem wundervollen Blick ins Freie, in die Felskette der Salisbury-Crags. Schwere Kirchenthüren hängen fest verschlossen in den rostenden Angeln, und haben Nichts mehr zu beschützen als die kalten Leichensteine und die im Winde flatternden Trauereinfassungen der hachements (Wappenschilder), deren verblichene Farben kaum noch kenntlich sind.

The Chapel, the only building to remain standing, is also witness to an interesting episode from history, and Fanny tells of the marble grave effigy, whose head was defaced by zealous and violent Reformers, yet whose hand, once kissed by so many an adulating worshipper that it wore smooth as ivory, can still be seen, as smooth and polished as ever. Kohl had found the Royal Vault the most interesting part of the Chapel Royal, telling of the ransacking of the coffins by Cromwell's soldiers, and the sale of the Stewart bones, which were afterwards supposedly reassembled by the people. Kohl describes the bones laid out behind an iron grille, two skulls and a few arm and leg bones. Never before has he seen such a display and he seems amused by the bottle beside them, said to contain documents, and even more so by the white 'tears' painted on the dark arched roof of the vault. He concludes his Holyrood visit with the following sentence:

(Kohl, 1, 87f.)

Kalckstein, too, was to tell of the vicissitudes of the kingly remains on seeing the Royal Vault, but it was the weather which had the last word:

Zu diesem handgreiflichen memento mori irdischer Grösse zog der Himmel wieder sein aschgraues Trauergewand an, und durch die offenen Fensternischen fielen dicke Regentropfen auf die verwitterten Königsschädel herab.

(Kalckstein, 205)

Thirty years earlier, in 1822, Löwenthal had found a different aspect of the present taking command of the scene in the Abbey ruins:

Das Architektonische dieser Reste zeigt nicht jenen Reichtum und jene Zierlichkeit der Ausführung, welche uns sonst an solchen Werken deutscher Art in Bewunderung setzen; doch sind sie bei weitem reicher und zierlicher als die Ruinen der Kathedrale von Dunkeld. In dieser Kirche ruhten viele Könige und Große Schottlands, aber die Tempelstürmer der Reformation und mehr noch die der (englischen) Revolution verschonten nichts. Noch immer haben schottische Edle das Recht, sich innerhalb dieser dachlosen Mauern begraben zu lassen, und es wird auch geübt; aber als ich auf dieser Stelle weilte, hatte man über ihren Gräbern eben Hauswäsche zum Trocknen aufgehängt!

(Löwenthal, 127f.)

Thirty-five years later Ullrich was to end his visit on a very different note:

Der weite, blaue Himmel scheint in die offene Stätte herab, die Wolken ziehen drüberhin; der Wind geht durch die Fenster. Er weht den Staub von den zerbröckelnden Karniessen und streut ihn dem Wanderer, der von dannen schreitet, als ein flüchtiges Memento mori nach.

(Ullrich, 416)

To the German visitors of the 1850's the Abbey ruins could not outdo the attraction of Holyrood's associations with Mary Queen of Scots and in their different ways Förster, Fontane and Ullrich reveal this. The artist and art historian, Förster, writes:
Ging ich nicht vor allem in die Kapelle, um mich an dem ernsten altschottischen Baustil der Pfeiler, Bogen und Ornamente zu erfreuen, obwohl eine dreimalige Zerstörung nichts als nackte Wände übrig gelassen und offene Thüren, offene Fenster und die offene Decke allen Winden und Wettern unbehinderten Zugang gestatten? Aber so nahe der Stelle, an die sich Erinnerungen knüpfen, die nicht veralten, wie weit sie auch zurückreichen, und deren Schmerzen eine Welt theilt, war es unmöglich, mich in Kunstbetrachtungen zu versenken, zumal als ich hörte, die Wohnzimmer der Königin Maria Stuart seien im wesentlichen unverändert erhalten.

(Förster, 313f.)

Fontane was to experience a certain disappointment in the Abbey ruins. He is one of the few to stress the Abbey's former importance but he is frustrated by the apparently arbitrary irreverence with which the ruins have been 'restored'. His reflections on the subject are important to an understanding of Jenseit des Tweed:

Umschau haltend, wächst das Interesse, so lange wir unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf die Fülle des Details richten, das entweder durch Alter und Eigenthümlichkeit oder bei Schöpfungen einer späteren Epoche durch Schönheit imponirt. Von dem Augenblick an aber, wo wir Miene machen, uns im Ganzen zu orientiren, sind wir verloren und bezahlen unsere Wissbegier mit immer wachsender Unruhe. Wir fordern etwas, was uns die Dinge nicht mehr gewähren können.

(Fontane, 21)

If the ruins could not provide that vital poetic and romantic link, Queen Mary's Apartments could, and, accordingly, Fontane was anxious to move on to these. Their guide points out the stone where Mary and Darnley knelt at their marriage and the very sound of these two names reminds them "dass auch wir nicht nach der Kapelle von Holyrood, sondern nach dem Palaste gleichen Namens unsere Wallfahrt angetreten haben" (ibid., 22). However romantic the Abbey ruins, however quaint the Portrait Gallery, however interesting the apartments of Queen Victoria, the Comte d'Artois, or the hereditary Keeper, the Duke of Hamilton, it was on account of Mary Queen of Scots that the Germans visited Holyrood. None makes this clearer than Ullrich:

Durch das Portal der gothischen Kirchenruine trat ich hervor aus der verschollenen Welt von Holyrood. Die Erinnerungen an Maria Stuart begleiteten mich wie Schatten auf meinem stummen Wege durch die Strassen Edinburgs, lange, lange,
bis der Lärm des Lebens sie endlich verscheuchte und
bis ich auf dem Dampfwagen sass, um von der prächtigen
romantischen Stadt und von der wildschönen Bergnatur
Schottlands Abschied zu nehmen.  
(Ullrich, 417)
The "poem" in question, Schiller's *Maria Stuart*, without doubt made a significant contribution towards encouraging Germans to visit Scotland. Yet Schiller's play was by no means the only source of information available to 19th Century German readers on the life of the Scottish Queen. In order to ascertain to what extent the German visitors to Scotland adhered to Schiller's portrayal of Mary, it is helpful first to look briefly at the views of two widely read writers on British affairs and history, namely August Hermann Niemeyer and Friedrich von Raumer. Niemeyer's account of his stay in Britain was published in the early 1820's, while Raumer's study, *Die Königinnen Elisabeth und Maria Stuart*, appeared in 1836, the year after his own visit to Scotland.

Welch reichen Stoff das Schicksal der Maria Stuart gebe, und wie sehr sie selbst sogar historisch ein poetischer Charakter sey, daran kann seit der Schillerschen Tragödie niemand zweifeln. Unser grosser Dichter hat eben daher die Geschichte ziemlich treu bleiben können, ohne die poetische Kunst und Freiheit zu verleugnen.

(Niemeyer, "Beylage", i, footnote, 364)

It is indicative of the huge influence of Schiller's drama that the Germans almost inevitably took Mary's side even though the majority of them did not share her religion. Niemeyer was to see Mary's Roman Catholic faith as the reason for the play's popularity in France but indifferent reception in Britain. It can be pointed out, however, that Niemeyer did not take Scotland into special account here and that at much the same time as he was publishing this opinion Löwenthal attended an Edinburgh performance of Schiller's play (albeit translated and considerably adapted). In comparing three British queens as potential dramatic subject-matter, namely Lady Jane Grey, Anne Boleyn and Mary Queen of Scots, Niemeyer was to find that only Mary
possessed the truly complex guilt-ridden character which goes to make a tragic heroine of great dimension (ibid. i, 357ff.). Innocent suffering was not a prerequisite for tragedy and with this in mind the Germans could condone Schiller's use of poetic licence as regards both the character of Mary and the historical background. His beautiful but tragic heroine had won in death a moral victory over her opponent and thus personified an idea. In his thoroughly researched study of Elizabeth and Mary, Raumer found himself facing this problem as a historian. He circumvents it by siding with Schiller, but not necessarily with Schiller's following. Those who attacked the play for its lack of historical veracity ignored its poetic truth, and vice versa. Schiller did not claim his drama was true to historical fact but set out to achieve a poetic treatment of history. While condoning Schiller's motives, Raumer also wished to establish a point he felt was too often overlooked:

Ich meine: die wahre Geschichte Marias bietet eine viel grössere tiefserfinnigere, sie bietet eine doppelte Tragödie, von welcher die erste, vielleicht die ergreifendste Hälfte, in Schotland spielt. Hier ist Maria die schöne, junge, kühne, dichterisch begeisterte, unschuldige Frau. Der Glanz des Katholicismus, die Strenge der Puritaner, die Liebesgluth halungsloser Leidenschaft, Knox, Chastellart, Riccio, Darnley, Murray, Bothwell: welche scharf gezeichnete, eigenthümliche Gestalten, welche Gegensätze und Steigerungen, bis zu dem Sturze vom Throne, der Marias Leben in Wahrheit so beschliesst, dass nur noch eine lange leere Zeit bleibt, bis sich das Frühere in raschem Wechsel gewissermassen wiederholt.

(Raumer, Elisabeth u. Maria Stuart, 579ff.)

At the time of her death Mary was reported to have been a sick woman, with greying hair and failing eyesight, robbed of her beauty. While Raumer appreciates that it had been important to Schiller that he changed such facts, he also feels that from the historical point of view Schiller had concentrated on Mary's character to the detriment of Elizabeth, Burleigh and Leicester:

Es ist irrig zu meinen jene sinke, wenn diese steigen; vielmehr hebt sich durch grössere Rücksicht auf die wahre Geschichte, auch die ganze Tragödie in eine reinere, edlere Region, und mit grösserer Würdigkeit treten alsdann die Parteien und Personen einander gegenüber.

(ibid. 581)
Mary's history was tragic enough, since there was no place for her in the world into which she was born. England's defeat of the Armada heralded a new and united period in her history, with no room for warring factors within the British ranks:

Es gibt Personen in der Weltgeschichte, deren Stellung eine schiefe, ja eine unmögliche genannt werden kann, und deren ganzes Daseyn unheilbringend einwirkt; eine solche war Maria Stuart. So schneidend auch die Botschaft ihres Todes in die Welt und die Weltgeschichte hineintönt, es war die letzte Dissonanz. (ibid. 582)

Whichever side they took, whatever opinion they held, the German visitors to Scotland were fascinated by Mary. As if in response to Raumer, Fanny Lewald, who incorporated into her Reisetagebuch an abridged translation and digest (which amounted to some 150 pages) of Henry Glassford Bell's Life of Mary Queen of Scots, 36 was to write:

Für uns Deutsche hat Schiller den typischen Begriff der Maria Stuart geschaffen, so dass wir Mühe haben uns von diesem los zu machen, selbst da, wo die Geschichte uns tatsächlich das Unrichtige jener Anschauungsweise darstellt. Maria Stuart ist uns danach die schöne, liebeglühende Frau, die sich und ihr Reich den Phantasien ihres Herzens opfert, Rizzio erhört, Darnley ermorden lässt, den geliebten Mörder desselben heiratet - und im Grunde doch nur eine elende Buhlerin, der man ihren Leichtsinn verzeihen, weil sie schön, weil die Freiheit des Thrones verlockend, und weil das Ganze mit dem Duft des romantischen Katholicismus umhaucht ist, der die Vergebung aller Sünden aller Gnaden Bronnen ist. Hauptsächlich aber gewinnt uns in Schillers Drama, Elisabeths Hass zur Liebe für Maria. Wir richten nicht, wo so furchtbares Gericht gehalten worden.

Indess liesse sich wohl eine ganz andere Tragödie aus dem Leben Maria's schaffen, eine Dichtung von viel tieferer Tragik, wenn man sich streng an die Thatsachen hielte, die jetzt bekannt sind, und die Bell, in seiner Biographie der Maria Stuart, mit allen historischen Quellenangaben zusammengetragen hat. (Lewald, ii, 221f.)

History reveals that Mary's passion for Rizzio and Bothwell and her complicity in the plot to murder Darnley pale into insignificance in the face of her fate, which brought her, as a young and highly cultured woman, to rule over a coarse and uncultured people. As such she was thrust from one political and religious faction to another, at the mercy of Protestant hatred, the power-seeking nobility and the political greed of neighbouring England (ibid. 222).
Lewald was much moved by Bell's work which had been recommended to her by Robert Chambers as the best history of Mary's life (ibid. 217 & 335). She readily admits that much of this attraction is due to her own concern for the cause of women, innocently condemned and unable to defend themselves.

One of the chief causes for the misrepresentation of Mary's life was that the first biography to be written of her was by the historian Buchanan, who, although in Mary's service, received a pension from Elizabeth and was also friend to Burleigh. In her digest of Bell's work, Fanny thus concentrates on those periods of Mary's life for which she had been most condemned without due concern for the factors which contributed to the events. To Fanny Lewald, it would seem, Schiller's Maria paled before Bell's.

Mary Queen of Scots was the only historical figure to be mentioned by almost all the Germans on their visits to Scotland. As a result, although some of the references are only brief, there is much repetition on the subject and an attempt will be made here to isolate a few representative opinions. It was above all visits to Holyrood which occasioned comment on Mary, commonly referred to as "die unglückliche Königin"; as indicated above, Holyrood became a place of pilgrimage, mainly on her account. But visits to Edinburgh Castle, Stirling, Linlithgow, and, in Fontane's case, Loch Leven, also caused considerable comment, and there were sites in England, too, of which the same can be said. Furthermore, the sight of any portrait of Mary, whether it hung in Windsor Castle or Edinburgh Castle, could be sure to rouse interest. The fact alone that Raumer chose a portrait of Mary and not Elizabeth as a frontispiece for his study of the two queens is an indication of where he expected his readers' allegiance (and curiosity) to lie. Schiller had secured a picture of seductive beauty in the minds of his readers and Mary fascinated them accordingly.
Mary was also undeniably regarded as a national heroine by the Scots. In 1803 Schopenhauer had remarked from Edinburgh: "Maria Stuart hat hier noch unzählige warme Verehrer und jede Reliquie, die von ihr übrig ist, wird wie ein Heiligthum betrachtet und sorgsam vorm Untergange geschützt" (Schopenhauer, 283). Later she was to note from Scone that the bed in which Mary had slept in captivity, and in which she "wohl oft vergebens Ruhe und Vergessen ihres Kummer suchte" (ibid., 304), was treated by the Scots with a deference normally accorded a holy relic. Some forty years later Kohl could still say much the same (Kohl, 1, 76). Yet there was another side to this. From the Scots' point of view the German fascination for everything to do with their former queen was opportune and they were quick to realise the potential benefits for their tourist industry. In describing the emotion with which his Holyrood guide tells of Mary, Marx was to accept it at face value, but it was just as likely to have been put on for the tourists' benefit (Marx, 19). Rellstab, in 1851, was to be convinced that all sites to do with Mary and Scott were considered sacred by their countrymen:

Ich hatte nicht geglaubt, dass nach zwei Jahrhunderten der Name und die Geschichte dieser Königin, die bei uns unbedingt nur durch Schillers Trauerspiel so in die Kenntnis aller gedrungen ist, hier noch so populär sei, dass man ihren Spuren und den Erzählungen von ihrem Handeln und Duldend auf jedem Schritt begegnen, dass Jeder, auch der mindest Gebildete Kenntnis davon haben würde. Ja, mehr als das: sie hat eine Wärme der Partheinahme für sich, die durch alle späteren Ereignisse und geschichtlichen Wendepunkte nichts verloren hat. (Rellstab, 1, 223)

Whether justifiably or not, an end such as Mary's ensures the victim of a certain immortality in the eyes of her subjects. Any guilt she might have borne is forgotten in time, "und das Haupt, welches vom Beil getroffen wurde, erbt zugleich die Martyrkrone" (ibid.). Rellstab continues:

Fast mit einem tieferen Gefühl der Ehrfurcht betritt daher der Aufseher und Zimmerwart die Gefängnisszimmer der Königin, als der gebildete Besucher dieser Räume. Wir werden in die kleinen, mit Holz ausgetafelten Zimmer geführt, wie in eine Kirche. Der Wärter zeigt uns jede Reliquie, jeden Sessel, der die Königin berührt haben soll, jedes Geräth, dessen sie sich bedient, mit dem Ausdruck der tiefsten Ehrfurcht in den Zügen. (Rellstab, 1, 224)
Even Rellstab's old guide, a German expatriate, had assumed the rôle of championing Mary's cause against Elizabeth and managed (irregularly) to secure entry for himself as well as his client into Mary's chamber in Edinburgh Castle, so that he could show Rellstab Mary's bed in person and tell him the tales attached to it (ibid., 223ff.). On her visit to the Castle the previous year, Lewald had also concerned herself with the elevated position of Mary as a national heroine, but she was more sceptical than Rellstab, pouring scorn on the tradition that the newborn James VI had been lowered to safety in a basket:

Edinburgh Castle was generally the first Mary site to be visited by the tourists. Even those who belittled its historical interest would often tell of the story of Mary's confinement and the birth of James VI.³⁹ It was Holyrood, however, which took supreme place amongst the sites associated with Mary and there are many repetitive accounts of visits to Queen Mary's apartments and, more particularly, of Rizzio's murder, a story with which some at least of the visitors seemed obsessed. Others were well aware that their interest was being exploited:

Ullrich was one of those who ignored this aspect:

One by one the Germans react with remarkable similarity to their Holyrood visits. By the time of Spikers' visit, in 1816, Mary's apartments were already...
on show, preserved as she had left them. Spiker's attention was particularly
captured by the huge size of Darnley's boots, sword belt and armour; it was the
guide who chose to concentrate on Rizzio's murder, pointing out the notorious
blood stains where "they" "finished" him (Spiker, 200). The following year
Meissner was to find Mary's apartments the most moving part of his tour of
Holyrood. He also noted the stone marking the grave of Rizzio, "der süsse
Sänger", adding,"Mehrere von Rizzio's Melodien haben sich noch von Mund zu
Mund fortgeerbt, und werden allgemein gesungen" (Meissner, 212), but he gives
no factual basis for this latter piece of information. Five years later,
in 1822, Otto and Löwenthal both visited the Palace and gave comparable accounts.
While Löwenthal was quick to find fault with his guide concerning a portrait
of Charles II, which she falsely stated to be by Van Dyck, he did not think
to question her commentary on Mary's apartments. On entering her private
bed chamber, he exclaimed:

Welchem Deutschen fielen bei diesem Anblicke nicht
die Worte des in Liebesraserei aufflammenden Mortimer
bei: "Du hast den Sänger Rizzio beglückt!" wie wenig
historisch erwiesen auch die Thatsache yay, auf welche
dieser Ausruf anspielt.

(Löwenthal, 128)

Löwenthal's account of Rizzio's murder can be seen as typical. He begins:

Unbarmherzig wurde der übermüdige Sänger von der Seite
der wunderschönen Flehenden gerissen, in das Vorgemach
geschleppt und mit sechs und fünfzig Wunden durchbohrt,
während Dranley seine geängstigte Gemahlin festhielt,
die noch die ersten Streiche auf den Günstling fallen
sehen musste! In jenem Vorgemache will man gar noch die
Blutflecken am Boden gewahren. Es ist unmöglich, diese
Zimmer ohne ernsten Antheil zu durchwandern; ich konnte
es nicht ohne eine tiefe, innere Bewegung.

(ibid., 129)

The tours of these days evidently could be both lengthy and expensive.
Löwenthal writes that he was handed from one guide to another as he moved
through the Palace, four men and one woman in all. When they tried to pass
him on to a sixth, his patience had run out and he chose to forego the
Conte d'Artois' apartments. Through his use of the word "gebrandschatzt"
one can assume that each guide demanded a tip.
Visits of 1828-9 were recorded by Moscheles and Mendelssohn. Moscheles found the obvious age of the furnishings in Mary's apartments detracted little from the visitor's enjoyment: "doch kann man sich in diesen Räumen nur theilnehmend an das Schicksal der schönen, vielleicht schuldigen, doch unglücklichen Frau erinnern" (Moscheles, 191f.). Having given the inevitable description of the rooms and Rizzio's murder, Moscheles admits to having displayed a sceptical attitude towards the blood stains, at which Ballantyne, Scott's publisher, had given him a copy of a note made by Scott himself: "I have no doubt of Rizio's [sic] blood being genuine. I will look at the plan of the place, but think I am right. ... Ein gewichtiges Wort aus Scott's Munde" (ibid., 192). Moscheles refrains from further judgement, but others were quite prepared to accept the stains for real and statements such as Otto's "noch sind die Spuren seines Blutes sichtbar" (Otto, 298) are common.

Mendelssohn's visit in 1829 was of immense personal importance as regards his own creative work. His description of the Palace was similar to many others, but, having written of the ruined Chapel Royal, he adds: "Es ist da Alles zerbrochen, morsch und der heitere Himmel scheint hinein. Ich glaube, ich habe heut da den Anfang meiner Schottischen Symphonie gefunden" (Mendelssohn, Hensel, 244). Mary's association with Holyrood was only part of the overall scene of inspiration.

It comes as no surprise that Raumer should have found Holyrood "besonders anziehend" on his visit in 1835 (Raumer, 1835, 366). Both he and Kohl were to refer to historical sources when discussing Rizzio's murder, Kohl retelling the story in no little detail, as found in a letter of the Earl of Bedford, dated 1566 (Kohl, i, 78ff.). Kohl himself found Mary's rooms genuinely authentic: Denn so wenig diese Räume einst von den rauhen Verschwörern respectirt wurden, welche hier hereinbrachen, um den fremden Liebling der Königin, Rizzio, zu ermorden, so hoch scheint sie 300 Jahre hindurch die Nachwelt geachtet zu haben. ... Es ist selten und es gehören allerlei besondere Umstände dazu, dass dem Geschichtsliebhaber die Bühnen früherer, längst entschwundener Ereignisse so bis ins geringste
Detail, bis auf die Fenstervorhänge, bis auf die Fussbank, die Tischdecke und andere Kleinigkeiten erhalten worden, so dass er dadurch jenen Ereignissen ganz nahe gerückt scheint und gleichsam ein Zuschauer derselben zu werden glaubt. 

(iband. 77)

The excitement of seeing the very same furnishings and rooms which had featured in the bloody murder of Rizzio caused Kohl to reflect on the special relationship between the Germans and the Scottish Queen:

Es kommt mir ... so vor, als gehöre Marie gewissermassen auch uns Deutschen an, und wenn ich mir denke, welche Freude unser Schiller daran gehabt haben würde, hier in Edinburgh Maria's Schlaefcabinet und ihren kleinen Arbeitstisch (der freilich viel roher war als ähnliche Arbeiten aus derselben Zeit, die wir in Deutschland haben) und die Candalaber, die sie mit aus Frankreich brachte (weil sie in Schottland so etwas gar nicht finden konnte), und alle die anderen Dinge zu sehen, welche handgreifliche Zeugen von der körperlichen und wirklichen Existenz der in seiner Phantasie lebenden Maria sind, so glaube ich, dass meine deutschen Leser es auch nicht so leicht überdrüssig werden mögen, noch etwas von diesen Zimmern zu hören. 

(ibid, 77f.)

Later he reflects that it is quite probable that no such living proof of the present will be available to the people of 300 years hence, since the solid craftsmen's furnishings of the 16th Century have been replaced by tasteless flimsy factory products which cannot be expected to last so long, (iband. 82).

Kohl was well aware that the Germans received careful treatment at Holyrood, the guides being at pains to show them everything that could be associated with Mary (iband. 87). Two years later, in 1844, Carus was to be less approving of the way in which the Scots had preserved Mary's apartments:

In jenen Zimmern weht ein eigner Hauch, ich möchte sagen wie Leichenduft! - Die alten verstäubten Boiserien, die verrotteten, zerfallenden Damast-Tapeten, alte Kupferstiche und Bilder - ein grosses Himmelbett mit schweren halberstörten Vorhängen - Meublen der sonderbarsten Form, worin Meister Wurm das Werk des Meister Tischler fast Überwältigt hat, Sophas von längst abgeblasster Seide - das eine mit Stickereien von der Hand jener unglücklichen Königin - kurz, alles dieses in nur schwacher Erleuchtung verhältnissmassig
kleiner Fenster, es erregt seltsame Empfindungen und Betrachtungen!

(Carus, ii, 303ff.)

Carus' attitude was new. For all the "eigner Hauch des Alterthums" (ibid 303) he was in two minds as to the justification of unnatural preservation, and exploitation, of the irretrievable past:

Dabei sind diese Räume nun ein stätes Schaustück geworden; - systematisch werden fortwährend Fremde hier durchgeführt - mit Faden ist bezeichnet wie weit man sich den Alterthümern nähern darf, pathetisch werden ein paar alte Fechthandschuhe und verstäubte Rüstungstücke als die des Darnley vorgezeigt, und so wird das Ganze - - was einem gar ernsten Blatter der Geschichte angehört und manch wehmüthiges Gefühl wohl anregen dürfte, wieder durch perorirende geschwätzige House Keeper's fast zur Posse herabgezogen; - etwas wie Güethe von der divulgirten Geschichte des Werther sagt, wenn das Volk auf Jahrmärkten vor dem Standbilde des Sterbenden steht:

"und jeder kann mit dem Stocke zeigen
Gleich wird die Kugel das Hirn erreichen!"

man verlässt deshalb diese Gemächer in ungleicher, hin und her wogender unruhiger Stimmung!

(iband., 304)

By this time historical veracity concerned the visitors to a greater degree. In 1850 Lewald was to remark that the authenticity of Darnley's suit of armour could no more be verified than the portrait of Rizzio as a budding young student in Italy. As Raumer had pointed out earlier (Raumer, 1835, 367), Rizzio was a much older man when he came to Scotland. Yet Lewald was not grudging in her criticism and she takes time to describe such items as Mary's sewing-table:

Alle diese Raritäten, welche der historische Materialismus der Touristen nicht entbehren kann, sind meist, wie mich dünkt, eben nur für diese Neugier herbeigeschafft. Das ist auch ganz in der Ordnung: Jedem das Seine! Wer nach Täuschung verlangt, fühlt sich befriedigt durch sie, und dankt dafür, wenn sie ihm bereitet wird.

(Lewald, ii, 216)

Those visitors such as Brandes, who chose to accept that the bloodstains were authentic (Brandes, 73), can be seen to fit Lewald's bill of the tourists who demand illusion, the "historical materialists".
Kalckstein was to be more sceptical on his visit in 1852, but even he cannot deny the interest roused in him by the sight of Mary's apartments, "denn das in Gegenständen einer unmittelbaren Anschauung sprechende Zeugniss des Dagewesenen übt nun einmal auf Herz und Sinne einen ganz eigenthümlichen Reiz" (Kalckstein, 202). The decaying atmosphere of Mary's apartments causes Kalckstein to reflect that Mary's needs would seem very modest in comparison with the needs of a modern lady, a view also expressed by Ullrich: "Man würde diese Räume weit eher für ein Gefängniss, als für Gemächer halten, in denen ehemals ein jugendlich rosiges Menschendasein, ein fürstliches Weib von gefeirter Schönheit waltete" (Ullrich, 413f.). Waagen, too, was surprised at the modest appearance of the rooms; indeed, the whole Palace seemed so peaceful to him that he found it hard to believe that it had been the scene of "such a bloody event as the death of the harmless Rizzio" (Waagen, 277). Like Raumer before him and Fontane after, Ullrich marvels at the small size of the room in which Rizzio had been murdered and reflects: "Die Art und Weise, wie die That geschah, liefert den Beweis einer wahrhaft Schauder erregenden Barbarei jener Menschen und Zeiten" (Ullrich, 416). Yet despite this awareness, Ullrich is obviously more moved by the strange thrill afforded him on looking into the very same oval mirror - albeit tarnished with age - which had once reflected Mary's own seductive beauty. There is no doubt as to where Ullrich's sympathies lie. Mary had come to Scotland as a teenage widow, eminently unsuited to ruling,

ein Weib, mit aller Anmuth, aber auch mit den gefährlichsten Schwächen ihres Geschlechts ausgestattet, verwöhnt von Glück und von schmeichlerischen Huldigungen, genährt von dem aus Ritterlichkeit und Frivolität gemischten Geiste am französischen Hofe, und jetzt hineingerissen in die Kabalen der schottischen Grossen, in die Gewalttätigkeiten der Zeit und in die religiösen und politischen Wirren welche den Thron umwogten.

(iband., 414)

It was small wonder that Mary was no match for the unbending Knox who berated her. During his description of the rooms, Ullrich attempts, if rather ponderously, to bring life to each object:
Schwerlich hat die Nacht hier allzuhäufig den kostbaren Balsam des Schlummers herabgethan. Wie oft mögen böse Träume um dieses reiche Bett geschlichen sein, wie oft mag das schöne Haupt Marias auf diesem Pfuhl ruhelos gelegen haben, vielleicht ruhelos, als auf dem Block zu Fotheringay. Und wie seltsam spricht zuweilen aus dem Nächsten, Gleichgültigsten ein Orakel, das dem Zufall einen tieferen Sinn verleihen zu wollen scheint. Wenn die Königin ihren Blick über die Gobelintapete streifen liess, die einen Theil der Wände bedeckt und die jetzt dunkel und fast unkenntlich herabhängt, so hatte sie, ohne es zu ahnen, ein Sinnbild der Katastrophe vor sich, welche die Tragödie ihres eigenen Lebens enden sollte. (ibid., 415)

It was ironical that the tapestry should depict the Fall of Phaeton.

Fontane's opinion became quite clear on considering this tapestry. He could see no similarity between the stories of Mary and Phaeton, and it could well have been in direct response to Ullrich's comments that he wrote:

man kann darin nicht gut, wie einige gewollt haben, ein sinniges Spiel des Zufalls erkennen, da der Fall der schönen Königin sicherlich keine Vergleichungspunkte mit dem des Phaeton bietet. Sie strebte nie zu hoch, im Allgemeinen nicht hoch genug; als sie dem Bothwell die Hand reichte, entschlug sie sich ihrer Würde als Königin und als Frau, das stürzte sie.

(Fontane, 28f.)

There was of course little new that Fontane could add other than his stamp of originality. This makes itself felt throughout his chapter on Holyrood, in which the only 'new' information is his account of the Four Marias (ibid., 24). Mary herself does not dominate the chapter as she does in some of the accounts, but the viewing of her apartments and the recounting of Rizzio's murder is without doubt climactic in Fontane's eyes. From the audience chamber he refers, like Ullrich, to the meeting between Knox and Mary, and like most of those who came before him, he lists the artefacts in Mary's bedchamber. It is here that his originality can come to the fore. Mary's possessions render the room "zu dem interessantesten, das man vielleicht irgendwo betreten kann" (ibid., 28). Here Fontane can find the direct poetic link he required. He adds: "Es ist bekannt, wie leicht solche Dinge ins Lächerliche umschlagen, aber die ganze Umgebung ist
der Art, dass Frivolität nicht aufkommen kann und sich bescheidet, anderen Gedanken das Feld zu räumen (ibid.). In sharp contrast the supping room contains a motley collection of objects which in Fontane's mind do not belong: "So unpassend wie möglich. Dies Zimmer müsste kahl und leer sein, nackte, graue Wände, nichts weiter. Hier empfängt Rizzio die ersten Dolchstiche" (ibid. 29). With this as his cue, he can indulge in retelling the story of Rizzio's murder. During his tour of Mary's apartments Fontane focusses on one particular object to which he keeps returning. It is "die mehr erwähnte wurmstichige kleine Thür" (ibid.), the link between Mary's rooms and Darnley's, Darnley's chambers and the stairway, and thus between Rizzio's life and death. The door takes on an almost symbolic significance throughout Fontane's chapter.

Not all the visitors were so moved by Holyrood, however, and Pulszky, who visited in 1836, gives the whole a different perspective. Any curious visitor who so wished could pay five shillings to gawk at Mary's apartments with their faded furnishings and pull back the tapestry to reveal the secret staircase by which Rizzio and his murderers had gained entry. There is a note of sardonic humour in Pulszky's reaction:

_Nie sah ich das königliche Ansehen so sehr in den Staub gezogen, als hier. Einen kaufmännischen Fleckputzer aus Glasgow mag es eben so ergangen sein wie mir, denn er zog sein seidenes Schnupftuch aus der Tasche, legte es sorgfältig auf den Boden, kniete darauf nieder und zog einen Tuchfetzen aus dem Sacke des schäbigen Rockes, befeuchtete ihn behutsam mit einer Flüssigkeit von eigener Erfindung, die er immer in einem Fläschchen mit sich führte, und fing an den historischen Flecken wegzuscheuern._

(Pulszky, 181f.)

Pulszky evidently gained as much, if not more, pleasure from relating this anecdote as he did from describing Holyrood itself.

The Castle and Holyrood were not the only places to prompt discussion on Mary. Where specimens of Mary's embroidery were on display they were sure to cause comment, while Carus was moved to see her handwriting in letters kept at Parliament House: "so verweilte ich nicht ohne Wehmuth auf den festen, rundlichen Zügen dieses seltsamen, für einen Thron vielleicht
zu naive und liebeswarmen Charakters" (Carus, ii, 295). As regards the remaining Mary sites, it little mattered if the facts were sometimes confused. Mendelssohn believes Mary to have been crowned in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood, while Hailbronner believes she gave birth to James VI at Stirling (Mendelssohn, Hensel, 344; Hailbronner, 331); neither is correct, yet both Stirling and Holyrood remained important sites associated with the Queen and in that, the crucial point, the Germans were not mistaken. Only a few actually visited Mary's birthplace, Linlithgow. Many were only able to refer to it as they passed in the coach or train, as was also the case with Loch Leven Castle. Others paid little attention to the sites themselves; Hallberg was more impressed by the attitude of his fellow passengers on passing Loch Leven than by the thought of Mary's associations with the Castle on the island:

Die Schottländer, welche auf dem Wagen waren, sprachen mit vieler Rührung von ihr, überhaupt können die Schottländer noch nicht vergessen, dass sie ehemals ein unabhängiges Volk waren, obwohl sie vereint mit England viel glücklicher sind, denn ihr Land ist sehr arm, meist unfruchtbar und nur schön, wenn man England näher kommt. (Hallberg-Broich, 86f.)

Carus was similarly unimpressed by the ruins of Linlithgow Palace, but was genuinely moved by "eine Erinnerungen an die poetisch-mythische Person von Schottland - an Maria Stuart" (Carus, ii, 283). He willingly believes the guide, on being shown the font at which Mary was baptised and her seat in the choir: "es muss Queen Mary's Chair seyn - wer wollte da zu strenge historische Kritik anwenden" (ibid.). This willingness to compromise enabled Carus to enjoy his sightseeing, even if he did not at first find the ruins themselves romantically attractive. He looked for all that he could enjoy in the scene, the ruined well in the courtyard, the coats of arms above the doorways, the view of the loch through the arches and the wind blowing through the empty windows of the roofless walls, green with moss and grass. Finally,
Accounts of visits to Linlithgow and Loch Leven were thus something which Fontane could describe fully, in the knowledge that few had done so before him. Accordingly he gives a much fuller description of the town of Linlithgow, even though "es ist ein Städtchen wie es ihrer tausende giebt" (Fontane, 123). His motive was also absolutely genuine. Although the exterior of Linlithgow Palace reminded him of a chemical factory, Fontane was eager to be excited by the interior of the ruin, which he compares to Heidelberg, as a ruin well known to his readers. The western wing in particular had all the necessary requirements for romantic association: "Hier concenttrirt sich das Interesse und fast jeder einzelne Raum hat seine Geschichte" (ibid., 125). While he may have expected to think only of Mary, Fontane finds himself instead telling of the Covenanters, of the Jacobites, and even of "die schöne Rosamunde". To his obvious disappointment the room in which Mary was born "bietet nichts als seinen Namen" (ibid., 127): "Innerhalb der vier Wände die den Raum selbst umschliessen, sieht man sich vergebens nach einem Zeichen um, das direkt oder wenigstens symbolisch an die Persönlichkeit erinnerte, die diesem Ort seine Weihe und Bedeutung gegeben hat" (ibid., 126). Luckily Queen Margaret's Tower comes to his rescue, firstly on account of the view from its top and secondly on account of Queen Margaret herself. In telling her story, Fontane is not only perfectly at home but also greatly assisted by this natural lead into his account of Flodden. Throughout the two chapters on Linlithgow and Flodden, Fontane uses Walter Scott as his guide. He relies much more on his own guidance, with assistance from Percy and Scott, in his chapter on Loch Leven Castle.

It was a stroke of luck for Fontane that the new Kinross railway line was opened during his stay in Scotland. Without it, as he is quick to point out, he would have been forced to follow the regular tourist route and so miss seeing the castle, which, next to Holyrood, was most closely associated with Mary Queen of Scots. Only Spiker before him had written of the castle with any interest (Spiker, 228); very few others had even travelled the Edinburgh to Perth road. There is no doubt that Fontane's visit had a profound effect on him. He devotes a whole paragraph to evoking the mood of the receptive happiness which he enjoyed that day (ibid., 382) and which he
was later to recall, both in his correspondence and in his narrative work with such nostalgia. Everything which excited Fontane in Scotland is included in this one chapter, Percy's Reliques, Scott's novels and a moving story of bravery, featuring two of the names which acted as magic to him, Mary Queen of Scots and a member of the Douglas clan. His delight in recounting the tale of Mary's escape is self-evident. In this respect the chapter can stand on its own, as indeed was its publication fate. As Reuter has pointed out, Mary Queen of Scots was much more than a mere historical figure for Fontane, and more, too, than Schiller's tragic heroine:

Die englisch-schottische Geschichte war von früh an ein Hauptanziehungspunkt für Fontane ... Lebenslang schöpfte er aus diesem Fundus der Neugier und des Wissens. Namentlich einer Gestalt aus jener Geschichte begegnete er mit einem nie erlahmenden Interesse. Es war Maria Stuart mit ihrem abenteuerlichen Schicksal; Historie und Poesie schienen für Fontane darin zu verschmelzen. In seinem schottischen Reisebuch von 1860 ... wurde Maria Stuart ... fast zu einer Art geheimer Huldin des Ganzen.

(Reuter, Wanderungen, i, 27)

There was one final means of access to the alluring world of Maria Stuart to which Fontane and many others resorted, and that was through art. Portraits of Mary, viewed throughout Britain, provoked much discussion from Schopenhauer on; Fontane's preoccupation with the Mary portraits was not new. When portraits of the Queen did not meet with expectations of seductive beauty the Germans were disappointed, or at best surprised. Many refer to the pictures associated with Mary on show at Holyrood, namely the full-length portrait of Darnley and the two of Mary, "zwei Bildnisse der unglücklichsten und schönsten Frau ihrer Zeit, Bruststücke" (Löwenthal, 129). Of the latter, Spiker, in 1816, considered one to be possibly the finest of all those in Britain; and yet it did not portray her romantically, but with regular features and a cold, serious expression he would have expected to find in portraits of Elizabeth (Spiker, 201). Writing presumably of the same picture, in which Mary is portrayed in the black gown she wore to her execution, Otto was to exclaim six years later: "Wer wird dem Schicksale dieser unglücklichen Königin, deren Schönheit ihr ein leidenvolles Leben und einen schmäligen Tod bereitete, sein Mitleiden versagen können!" (Otto, 299). Twenty years later, in 1842, Kohl, who thought very little of
the "Maria Stuartus" in the Picture Gallery, was to be greatly taken with
the copy of the portrait in the possession of the Duke of Hamilton. This,
reputedly the finest of all the portraits of Mary, he finds to be both
accurate and of high quality. He is struck by Mary's eyebrows, set far
apart and highly arched (Kohl, i, 83f.). Ullrich was presumably
referring to the same painting when he wrote:

Unter den Bildern fand ich ein einziges der Beachtung
werth: es stellt die Maria Stuart dar und schien mir
im physiognomischen Ausdruck mehr wirkliche Individualität
tzu besitzen als die zahlreichen übrigen Porträts der
Königin, die ich bisher gesehen.

(Ullrich, 413)

Fanny Lewald allowed herself to be charmed by the miniature found in Mary's
work-table, even though she was well aware of the current disputes as to the
authenticity of all the extant portraits of Mary, whereby historians argued
that her looks should be established only from letters and memoirs. Lewald
was also greatly attracted to the painting of Mary as the Dauphine which
hung in Edinburgh Castle:

Es ist ein reizendes Gesicht, voller Anmuth, Geist und
Grazie, und es geht mir wie dem Volke, ich möchte an
dieses Bild glauben, weil es der Vorstellung entspricht,
die ich mir von Maria Stuart habe gemacht.

(Lewald, ii, 220f.)

She admitted honestly that she wanted to retain her Schillerian image of Mary.
Carus, too, leaned in this direction. Having seen the two Holyrood paintings,
he was delighted to be able to acquire a small copper engraving of a third
picture, which exactly met with his demands as German admirer of Maria Stuart:

Das feine weiche Gesicht nimmt zwischen dem Gewölk
der Spitzen und Schleier, und unter der kleinen weissen
Schnepenhaube eigenthümlich poetisch aus. - Das
Schicksal gefällt sich zuweilen darin, gerade eine
weichere Natur zartere zu wählen um sie durch alle
Pressungen des Lebens gahren, und alles Seltsame und
Harte sie erfahren zu lassen - diese Gesicht kann für
eine solche gelten! -

(Carus, ii, 305)

And it was just this face which Pulszky encountered in Zuccheri's painting
of Mary, which he considered the pearl of the Bodleian collection in Oxford:
es ist unmöglich etwas Reizenderes zu sehen, als diese schwimmenden dunklen Augen über denen schmale Brauen sich so regelmässig wölben, diese feine Nase, diese sinnlichen Lippen, diesen gutmütigen Ausdruck des Gesichtes, und die hohe Stirne unter den bräunlichen Haaren. Man findet es vor diesem Bilde natürlich, dass so Viele um ihre Gunst das Leben wagten, denn ein Lächeln dieses Mundes war wirklich werth einer Lebensgefahr.

(Fontane, 70f.)

Fontane's fascination for portraits of Mary stemmed from his first London visit of 1844 and also from a genuine concern to ascertain the truth. When in Scotland in 1858, it was from Edinburgh Castle that he wrote again on the subject (Fontane, 54ff.). Unlike Lewald, he was truly concerned with the authenticity of the portraits of the Scottish queen, seven of which (mostly miniature copies) he had recently seen in the Manchester Art Exhibition. Having gone into the subject in some depth previously, Fontane evidently feels justified in his conclusion, that only three of the five oil paintings of Mary which he himself had seen, namely the one which had captivated Carus' imagination, owned by the Earl of Morton, and those at Hampton Court and Windsor, could be genuine, or, at best, "so viel ich weiss, ziemlich unangefochten in ihrer Aechtheit" (ibid. 55). To Fontane proof of the authenticity of the former two in particular lies not so much in their resemblance regarding Mary's looks, as in the fact "dass beide Leben und Wahrheit verrathen und nichts haben von jener Puppenkopfmanier, der es genügt, einem erfundenen Schönheits-Ideal einen möglichst schönen Teint gegeben zu haben" (ibid. 56). Fontane, as ever, needed poetic evidence.

Final indication of the German bias towards Mary came from Förster, who wrote of his visit to Holyrood in 1851:


(Förster, 314)
There is little doubt that Förster would sooner have beheld a portrait of Mary, a portrayal of "die verderblichen Leidenschaften einer unglücklichen Königin" (ibid., 303).

The credit for the German preoccupation with Mary Queen of Scots goes of course to Schiller; the early Scottish tourist industry had accordingly much to thank him for. Kohl was quick to acknowledge this objectively where others remained subjective:

Wirklich hat Schiller uns für Marie von Schottland, wie für die Jungfrau von Orleans, wie für Fiesco zu Genua, wie für Don Carlos von Spanien, wie für die Braut von Messina und für andere ausländische Namen eine solche romantische Zärtlichkeit eingeflößt, dass wir überall, wenn wir in fremde Länder kommen, ihre Spuren und Reliquien mit Eifer aufsuchen. Mit eben solcher Liebe hat Göthe für den Hof von Este, das Haus von Clavigo, die Iphigenie, die Bürger und Grafen in Brüssel uns erfüllt, die wir eben so gut für die Helden und grossen Männer unserer eigenen Geschichte und unseres eigenen Vaterlandes brauchen könnten. (Kohl, i, 76f.)

Thanks to Schiller, the fascinating figure of Maria Stuart helped to fill a gap which was not sufficiently covered by Götz von Berlichingen or Karl Moor. The search for Germany's own heritage was yet young and meanwhile they were content to adopt "die poetisch-mythische Person von Schottland".

CHAPTER XII RELIGION
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(Isensee, 122)

The religiosity of the Scottish nation in the years leading up to and after the Disruption was plainly evident to all those visitors to the country who cared to take note of such matters. For the young German theologian, Julius Köstlin, eager to spread his wings, the development of church affairs in Scotland was sufficiently exciting as to be the sole purpose of his visit to the country in 1849:

Lebhaft strebte ich dabei über Deutschland hinaus, und am stärksten zog mich Schottland an durch die Nachrichten, welche in den letzten Jahren dorther eingeflossen waren, von der Bildung einer freien, volksthümlichen, ganz auf der sittlich-religiösen Energie und Opferwilligkeit des Volkes ruhenden Kirche.

(Köstlin, 114)

For others certain aspects of Scotland's religion were a novelty. As Marx was to discover, the Scots could show the German visitors something new. Writing in 1841 of the reputed religious excesses practised by the well-known Edinburgh doctor, John Abercrombie, he finds himself looking at the question in a new light:

Seitdem ich aber erfahren, wie hier zu Lande wahre Religiosität in den Familien lebt, wie die Kirchen aus einem Bedürfnisse des Herzens besucht werden, wie die Beobachtung der sanktionirten Gebraüche als allgemeine Pflicht gilt und nur das Gegentheil auffällt, halte ich es für um so bedenklicher, Gesinnung und Thatkraft darnach bemessen zu wollen.

(Marx, 26f.)

It had been in response to the same Abercrombie's Sabbath-keeping that Isensee, quoted above, had been prompted to write of the Scottish religiosity in 1835. The notorious Scottish Sabbath came under frequent attack from the German
travellers. More often than not it was found to be an extreme inconvenience, disrupting tourist plans and dampening enjoyment. As Holzenthal wrote, after his stay in 1812-14:

Es ist so weit mit dem buchstäblichen Verstehen der Bibel genommen, dass man z.B. unter dem Sonntag heiligen ein totales Müßiggehen versteht, auch die unbedeutendste Handarbeit z.B. Schreiben, Stricken u.s.w. wird für unerlaubt gehalten, für die größte Sünde aber tanzen, Musick zu machen oder auch nur mit dem Munde zu pfeifen und zu singen. Für einen Fremden ist daher in Schottland, bei diesem Mangel an allen geselligen Vergnügen, der Sonntag der langweiligste Tag, den man sich denken kann.

(Holzenthal, 222)

Three aspects of the Church and religion in Scotland emerge as being of the most interest to the Germans. Firstly, the romantic vision of Colomba landing on the misty isle of Iona and bringing Christianity to the Pagan Scots was invoked by many of the visits to Iona, which, especially after the advent of steam travel, was very much part of the regular tourist route. Secondly, the Puritan extremes in which the Church and its preachers were seen to indulge were often discussed, particularly with reference to the vital force of the Scottish Reformation, John Knox, who was already known to most Germans through his associations with Mary Queen of Scots. Thirdly, scarcely any visitor to Scotland could avoid mentioning the Scottish Sabbath.
a) IONA AND THE EARLY CHURCH

It should be said from the outset that not all those who visited Iona were moved by the knowledge of its significance in the history of the Church in Scotland. For most such knowledge served to augment the island's already romantic attraction as one of the misty Hebrides, while others found that it was the wretched poverty in which the islanders lived which made a lasting impression. Many seemed impatient to reach their next stop, the island of Staffa.

One of the first to make the visit to Iona by steamer was Schinkel, in 1826. The editor of his journal, Wolzogen, was obliged to provide the bare facts of Columba's mission in a footnote, for Schinkel himself merely wrote of the Abbey and Nunnery ruins as "die Stätte der ehemaligen Hauptstadt des schottischen Urchristenthums" (Schinkel, iii, 108). Although he describes the ruined buildings, it is from the architectural and sculptural points of view, and his interest in the many remnants of crosses and gravestones likewise arises from the Pagan and Pictish influence of the engravings. He describes and illustrates Maclean's Cross. The party's guide - "ein alter, nach den Verhältnissen des Ortes noch ziemlich anständig aussehender Mann, obwohl er, wie man sagt, seinen Posten als Lehrer nicht gehörig ausfüllen sollte" (ibid., 109) - was a Maclean, and he was evidently at pains to show the tourists every stone in any way associated with his clan. Schinkel was apparently almost more interested in the islanders, although he found them abhorrent. On landing, their party had been confronted by the inevitable crowd of island children, "hässliches Volk, halb nackt und in Lumpen" (ibid.), offering pebbles for sale. Schinkel's companion, Seuth, like most of the party suffering from seasickness, had remained on the steamer,
It would seem that for Schinkel Iona's chief attraction lay in its primitive people.

Several of the Germans reacted to Iona in a similar fashion to Schinkel. Others, however, preferred to stress the island's aura of myth and legend, its historical importance and roots of British Christianity. Such a traveller was Hailbronner, who visited Iona in 1836 with Pulszky. Since Hailbronner's account sets out to convey the romantic attraction of the boat trip to Iona and Staffa, namely that which he terms "historische Romantik" and "Naturwunder", it can be seen as representative of many. I therefore quote at some length:

Tief im atlantischen Ocean liegen auf der Westküste des schottischen Hochlands die schönen hebridischen Eilande, das ultima Thule Europas, ewig den donnernden Wogen des Meeres und seinen Stürmen ausgesetzt. Und aus ihnen treten zwei kleine Inseln, beide noch nicht lange bekannt und zugänglich, die eine durch historische Romantik, die andere durch Naturwunder hoch berühmt. Hier sang Ossian seine unsterblichen Lieder, hier schlugen die kühnen Normänner ihre Sitze auf, hier beteten die Druiden in ihren Felsentempeln, und hier hat sich auch Sitte und Sprache der alten Gälen erhalten. Iona oder Icolmkill, das die wenigen Einwohner I nennen, war einst die Sonne der westlichen Welt, der Edelstein des Oceans, der Licht ausstrahlte auf die in Barbarei und Rohheit versunkenen Nachbarländer, wo Religion und Wissen ihren Triumph feierten, und dem der Aberglaube jener Tage die Kraft beisesbert, beim jüngsten Gerichte, wenn Wasserfluthen die übrige Welt verschlangen, allein Übrig zu bleiben und bewahrt zu werden vor allgemeiner Vernichtung. Iona wurde die Grabstätte der Grossen der Erde, deren Leiber hierher gebracht wurden, um diesem schönen alten Glauben zu huldigen, und die Grabsteine von 48 schottischen, einem französischen, vier irischen und acht norwegischen Königen beweisen, welche Macht dieses eigene Vorurtheil damals in Europa ausgeübt haben muss. Mit stiller Rührung betrath der Wanderer, der sich auf diesem fernen Eiland aussetzen lasst, das ungeheure Grab so vieler Mächtigen dieser Erde, die längst vergessen sind und über deren verwitterten Grabsteinen Hunderte von Generationen verblichen. Mit geheimem Schauer verweilt er in den uralten Ruinen der St. Orans Capelle, die der heilige Columban um die Mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts hier auf den Trümmern von Druidentempeln erbaute, und die in der allgemeinen Armuth und Rohheit des Styles, in der beständigen Wiederholung der niedern Kreisbogen alle Spuren
der ältesten Gebäude christlicher Zeit trägt, wie sie denn auch anerkannt die älteste Kirche Englands ist, während die dortige Marienkirche einer neueren Zeit und vermutlich dem dreizehnten Jahrhundert zugeschrieben werden muss. Ueberrascht mischt sich hier die Religion Odins mit den Typen der christlichen Mythe, und wunderbar sieht man hier mehrere Basreliefs, welche heidnisch Opfer ausdrücken, neben dem Sündenfalls Adams im Paradiese abgebildet. (Hailbronner, 315ff.)

Pulszky was as affected as his companion by this visit to Iona, "jene Insel, von der das Licht des Christenthumes zuerst hinüberstrahlte nach Caledoniens Nebellanden" (Pulszky, 152). He writes of Columba, driven from Ireland, finding refuge "in der romantischen Einsamkeit" of Iona, of the building of the Abbey and of the subsequent missionary work carried out through Scotland: "die Sonne ging damals im Westen auf" (ibid.). He relates the ancient prophecy that Iona alone would remain above the flood, when, seven years before the Day of Judgement, Erin and Caledonia would be submerged; this, then, was the reason for the island's fame and sanctity in the Middle Ages and explained why the many sovereigns desired to be buried here. Pulszky finds it stirring to reflect on the similarities between the Medieval Christian ideas and beliefs on life after death and those held by the ancient Egyptians:

Und geht man erst hin zu den Denkmalen jener Herrscher, die hier bemoost in langer Reihe auf der Erde liegen, während die Kühe das Gras abweiden, das zwischen ihnen aufwächst, so findet man wieder die Vorstellungen des Alterthumes auf ihnen; man sieht, dass selbst das christliche Mittelalter des Nordens im Oriente wurzelt. (ibid., 153)

Pulszky's archaeological skills and experience added to his appreciation of the sights on Iona; while his facts, like those of most tourists, were not always accurate, his conclusions were built on knowledgeable insight,

Wie auf römischen Gräbern und Sarcophagen sieht man hier das Todes Schiff, das die Seele nach der Insel der Seligen führen soll, in den schwarzen Stein gemeisselt; wie auf griechischen und etrusischen Todtenvasen findet man hier den Abschied und den Totenritt wieder, der besonders auf einem der Denkmale charakteristisch ist, wo eine weibliche Gestalt mit der Harfe auf dem Thronsessel sitzt, während der Mann, sich von ihr abwendend, im
He makes other comparisons, too, the foliage engravings and flourishes, often seen on oriental miniatures, and the sword and dagger motif. This conflux of Christian and heathen beliefs Pulszky finds fascinating, and he refers in particular to the engravings he sees amongst the Abbey ruins as attesting "die merkwürdigste Vermischung christlicher und heidnischer Mythen" (ibid., 154); some of these engravings he describes in detail, concluding:


He finishes with a description of the huge Celtic crosses and an account of their history. Perhaps most revealing, however, are his remarks concerning the others in the boat party:

Carus was determined to make the most of his visit to Scotland's "Ultima Thule". In relating the events of the outing he deliberately sets the scene to create the desired atmosphere; at 4 o'clock in the morning he was already out on the pier, full of anticipation as he inspected the steamer they were to travel on, and revelling, "einsam in der Stille des klaren..."
Everything seems to contribute to the romanticisation of the trip, from the "klare Fläche des herrlichen Elements" (ibid.) to the hills glowing red in the rising sun. Like the morning, all seemed fresh: "Überall neue Scenen!" (ibid. 210); romantic scenery, history and legend, everything combined to perfect the scene.

After the barren Staffa, Iona, with its 500 inhabitants, seemed a great contrast to Carus, and its history "sehr merkwürdig" (ibid., 219). He tells of Columba's coming from Ireland and of the subsequent missionary work amongst the wild Scottish clans; Iona should thus be seen not only as Ossian's 'Ithona' but also as the "Licht der westlichen Welt" and a "Perle im Ocean" (ibid.). Carus, too, tells of the ancient prophecy related by Hailbronner and Pulszky, and of the island's consequent hallowed ground. He continues:

Schon durch diese Vorkenntnisse vorbereitet leuchtete uns ein eigner romantischer Schimmer über diesem sonderbaren halb felsigen halb grünen, aber immer baumlosen Eiland; wenn man aber dort landet, und, gefolgt von dem stillen und harmlosen Völkchen der Insel, die uralten Begräbnisplätze und die ehrwürdigen gebleichten Ruinen von St. Orans-Abbey selbst aussucht, so steigert sich dies Gefühl zu eigner poetischer Rührung. (ibid., 220)

Carus takes in every little detail while on the island, from the reddish colour of the granite to the brightly coloured pebbles and shells which the children offer for sale, from the gravestone of the last abbess on the island, to Maclean's Cross, which, like Schinkel, he finds unusual enough to sketch and print in his narrative (ibid., 222). He describes the medieval Gaelic gravestones, with their roughly hewn heroic busts and weapons. As a medical man, he is even shown the grave of an important Scottish family’s doctor. He is amused also by the oratory, the little green hut from which the minister
would preach on a Sunday, while the congregation stood around him in the open: "Abermals fast wie in der Bergpredigt!" He gives the principal dates in the Abbey's history but it is the style of the building which appears to attract him more than its antiquity: "Der Styl ist sehr eigenthümlich - es scheinen fast norwegische Bauleute hier gearbeitet zu haben." (ibid., 221). Like Schinkel, he views Iona primarily as an artist. Having remarked on the usual plan of the church's structure, he concentrates on the decorations on the arches and windows, which appear in some places to be finely Gothic, and in others Norman, and he greatly enjoys the stark effect of the Abbey ruins with the dramatic background of the blue sea and the outline of the hills of Mull:

Die Durchsichten durch das alte in äussrer Mauer noch recht gut erhaltne Gebäude, nach dem Meere hin, sind reizend. Ein Maler könnte hier die trefflichsten Studien sammeln: (ibid., 221)

The Abbey, Nunnery and Chapel ruins gave a truly romantic impression, perhaps even more so in the mid-19th Century, long before the vision of rebuilding had been conceived. Carus does have the opportunity to commit the scene to memory before he leaves, sketching "eine ganz saubre Zeichnung" (ibid., 223) before returning to the boat. Yet he does not over-romanticise what he experiences; he neither forgets contemporary life round about him, nor does he accept all that he reads in his guide-books as immutable fact: "man sagt, dass die alten Könige Schottlands bis auf Macbeth hier begraben liegen" (ibid., 221).

It was of course common for expeditions to Iona and Staffa to be cancelled on account of the weather, and many of the German visitors had to forego the trip as a result. Others suffered from rough crossings; the captain of the boat in which Mendelssohn and Klingemann sailed to Staffa decided to avoid the worst of the storm by detouring Iona and cancelling the visit there. Ullrich was to enjoy a beautiful day for his visit to the two islands in 1857. He repeats much of what his predecessors had said, but while Staffa remains the highlight of the trip, he is genuinely attracted to Iona "in antiquarischgeschichtlicher Hinsicht", famed as the island is
"durch die Trümmerreste einer untergegangenen Kultur" (Ullrich, 361f.).

He, too, tells his readers that the island was formerly known as the "Licht der westlichen Welt" continuing:

> Und in der That erregt der Anblick der Ruine ihrer Kathedralen eine behaglich anheimelnde Empfindung, wenn man den ganzen Tag läng nur rauhe Klippente, öde Küsten und "unfruchtbares Meer" gesehen hat. Diese Ruine, obwohl sie mit ihrem kahlen Giebel wie eine ausgebrannte Stätte in die Luft ragt, erinnert doch wieder an den Menschen und an menschliche Civilisation. (ibid., 362)

Once more the party is surrounded by swarming children offering pebbles and shells for sale; this was a regular occurrence to those landing from the mainland on Iona, but by now, 1857, the children were offering additional items, guides to the island and to Staffa, and also pictures and sketches. Nor does it escape Ullrich's attention that some of them resort to begging: "Es muss eine kümmerliche Existenz auf diesem weltverlorenen Flecken sein" (ibid.).

The facts and figures differ slightly in each account; either the guide-books were misread or misinformed. Ullrich describes the ruins in fair detail, mentioning MacKinnon's Cross and grave; this reference serves to lead up to a yet more famous grave, "umwittert von den Erinnerungen der Sage und Poesie, das Grab Macdonalds, des Helden von Walter Scotts 'Lord of the Isles' " (ibid, 363). Here Ullrich had found what he came for:

> In der Mitte der Kapelle gewahrt man noch einige andere Grabsteine mit eingemeisselten Gestalten alter Feudalherren in ihren Rüstungen, deren absonderliche Namen schon nach Romantik klingen. (ibid.)

Although Scott had proved this attraction, Ullrich was also aware of the religious significance of the island, writing of the gravestones scattered in the long grass around the Abbey as marking the oldest Christian burial-ground in Scotland. This thought fills him with a certain awe:

> Es ist ein seltsam ergreifender Anblick, diese verwitterten Stätten der Vergänglichkeit, diese rauhen, grauen Steine, mit ihren von der Zeit stark abgewetzten oder verstümmelten Figuren, die längst von Moos Überwuchert waren, ehe man
But this is a feeling he desires to experience; the ancient kings of Scotland, Ireland and Norway lie buried here, once great heroes, "die Meerbeherrschers des Nordens" (ibid., 364), now forgotten even in name. Involuntarily Ullrich thinks of a yet more ancient hero, whose memory still lives; he thinks namely

an die Worte Fingals im Ossian, da Swaran, der König von Lochlin, froh und stolz auf die Dauer seines Ruhmes bei den spätesten Geschlechtern hinblickte: "O Swaran, heut ist unser Ruhm am grössten! Wir werden dahin schwinden gleich einem Traum! Kein Ton wird sich heben auf unsern Schlachtgefilden, - unsere Gräber werden sich auf der Haide verlieren!" -

(ibid.)

Ullrich goes on to describe the Abbey itself, the St. Martin's Cross, the huge tomb of Macleod of Macleod and the other tombs and sculptures; in his view the frequent ship motif gives insight into the manner of seafaring of olden days, and the very fact that these stone carvings can still be seen at all is surprising in itself, since they were hewn out of brittle mica schist:

So alt diese jetzt zertrümmerten Architekturen sind, so reichen sie doch noch lange nicht in die Zeit hinauf, in welcher Iona bereits eine Rolle in der nordischen Kirchengeschichte spielte, eine Rolle von nicht geringer Wichtigkeit.

(ibid., 365)

In those early days the buildings were assuredly of wood, as was the custom in Scotland, as described by Beda [Bede], and Columba and his twelve fellow Irish monks would certainly have constructed such buildings when they landed on Iona. The mission work, started by Columba and the Iro-Scottish monks, had far-reaching impact on the culture and learning of the early Middle Ages and knowledge of this adds to Ullrich's sense of the mystic aura surrounding Iona:
Die Wanderung durch diese Ruinen und über diese alten Grabstätten erweckt eine so melancholische Stimmung, wie man sie gewiss selten anderwärts empfindet. Denn gerade die Ortslichkeit ist es, welche den Eindruck hier in so mächtiger Weise erhöht: der ehemal kulturgesegnete, jetzt kahle, traurige Erdfleck, der, dem Verkehr der Menschen fern, hinter Klippen und Sunden verlassen draussen im Ocean liegt.

(ibid., 366)

If Fanny Lewald had to complain of the weather on her trip to Iona seven years earlier, it was because it was too hot, the sky too blue, the waves too green (Lewald, ii, 514). Her account of her visit to the island that hot afternoon is amongst the most memorable and the most reflective. She adds few if any new facts, but colours her description with her own genuine impressions. Her description of the red-haired children, again hawking and begging, and of the eccentric Mr. Lamont has been referred to above, but her reflections on Iona itself, "von dessen Traurigkeit Worte keine Vorstellung geben können" (ibid., ii, 521), are no less interesting. She is overwhelmed by this melancholy sadness, and the first sight of the ruins merely serves to augment this feeling: Iona, once so important, now lay in ruins, which seemed "von einem strengen, aber schwer zu beschreibenden Style" (Lewald, 517). Lewald writes of the scattered graves in the overgrown and deserted burial-ground, and Maclean's Cross, the only one of the original 360 to have remained erect; it is this cross which causes her to comment that she can compare it with nothing she has ever seen before:

Die Skulptur sieht so runenhaft aus, dass das Kreuz, dies Zeichen des Christenthumes, uns dadurch fast wie das fremde Symbol eines heidnischen Gottesdienstes anstarrt. (ibid., 518)

To Fanny Lewald, the doubting convert from Judaism, this sense of distancing from mid-19th Century European Christianity was very strong as she stood among the ruins:

Die meisten unserer Reisegefährten fühlten sich in diesen Mauern andächtig gestimmt. Ich konnte die Art ihres Empfindens nicht teilen, aber das Christenthum ist mir in seiner kulturhistorischen Bedeutung, in seiner ursprünglichen Erhabenheit nirgend einleuchtender gewesen als auf diesem öde, unter nordischem Himmel von dem Klang der anschlagenden Wellen umtönten Eilande. Hier
in dem verfallenden Gemäuer habe ich es höher und wärmer verehrt, als in dem Wunderbau der von Gold und Marmor strömenden, in aller Kunstvollendung strahlenden Peterskirche zu Rom. Und wenn man die in Lumpen gehüllten, geistlos und müßig hinlebenden Kinderscharen am Ufer erblickte, so musste man fühlen, dass es Zeit und Noth sei, neue Apostel zu senden in alle Welt, um zu vollenden, was einst die ersten Apostel begonnen.

(ibid.)

Of all the travellers to visit Iona, one feels that Lewald, deeply moved and yet also repelled by her visit to the island, was most genuine in her reaction, most concerned, spiritually and socially, by what she saw.

Aus jedem Steine, aus jedem Grashalm, aus jedem Menschenauge sprach lautlos die Verlassenheit. Und das war jetzt, in voller Gunst der besten Jahreszeit. Was muss ein Winter auf Iona sein, wenn die Nebel sich über dem Wasser lagern und eine Mauer bilden zwischen Luft und Meer! Hier können nur Schiffbrüchige oder Verfolgte Zuflucht gesucht haben; denn dass man sich auf Iona freiwillig angesiedelt, scheint fast unendbar.

(ibid., ii, 521)

It is as if, for Lewald, the reality of Iona belied its history.

It was expected of a tourist in Scotland that he should visit Iona and Staffa and Fontane evidently sensed this. It was only when he was able to write of the graves of Macbeth and Duncan that he became truly enthusiastic. Nonetheless he does not shirk the task appointed him as a Scottish tourist and he gives a fuller account than most of the island, its ecclesiastical history and its ruins. In his account of Columba and the Culdees, in which he refers to the writings of Adamnan, Abercromby and Jamieson, Fontane, typically, writes as a story-teller. This 'story' serves as background information to the actual tour of the island and can be seen to be quite separate; indeed, Fontane was to repeat much of it in his essay on the Highlands (Fontane, 399ff.). Like many of the previous visitors, he experienced the inevitable crowd of hawking children and made the quick tour of the ruins, crosses and graves. Fontane, too, describes those relics which particularly caught his attention, notably St. Oran's Chapel and St. Martin's and Maclean's Crosses, and he, too, writes of the forty-eight
royal graves. His account is made remarkable by its balanced structure and by a few choice comments which make it his own. Comparing Iona with Staffa, he stresses that the former, though devoid of Staffa's natural wonder, is "eine gleichberechtigte Sehenswürdigkeit" (ibid., 286f.). While this may seem an obvious point to make, few had the historical consciousness to express it in as many words. For five hundred years Iona had been "unter den heiligsten Plätzen des Landes der heiligste", and then, with the advent of Roman Catholicism, "die Glanzstage der Insel waren nun vorüber" (ibid., 287f.). While many of his predecessors had recognised the religious significance of Iona, Fontane emerges as the only visitor to the island who was genuinely interested in it "als erste Pflanzstätte des Christenthums im hohen Norden" (ibid., 288). His interest also encompassed the rôle played by the Culdees, "diese einst so mächtige Sekte", whose memory lived on for the Scottish people, "vielleicht deshalb, weil ihre gegnerische Stellung zur römischen Kirche ihr als Empfehlung dient" (ibid., 289). The very fact that their memory was still alive and that their impact could not be forgotten apparently put the Culdees into the category of "poetic history".

After these serious reflections, however, Fontane's account of his actual visit reverts to his accustomed lightness of touch and gentle irony. The swarming children offer pebbles for sale "so lange wir den heiligen Boden unter unsern Füssen haben" (ibid.); and of the survival from Puritanical sacking of some of the Celtic crosses he writes, "das Meer scheint aber mitleidiger als die Synode gewesen zu sein", while those who had rescued a number of the crosses had proved themselves "mehr antiquarisch als puritanisch" (ibid., 294). Without doubt the greatest attraction for Fontane is the antiquity: "Dass diese Kreuze indess sehr alt sind und der früheren Glanzzeit Iona's, ich möchte sagen seiner exclusiven Epoche angehören, scheint mir unzweifelhaft" (ibid., 295). The Cathedral ruins themselves may be "eine wahre Musterkarte von Baustilen", with a pediment "das einem als altsächsisch aufgeschwatzt werden soll" (ibid., 292), but at the same time they constitute some of Scotland's finest ruins and well deserve the designation as a cathedral. As to the accuracy of Dean Monro's account of Iona's history, Fontane is relieved to report that there is no basis for doubting his
information. Absolute proof may still be lacking, but that is immaterial to Fontane, who merely wished to establish the historical context of Iona in the story of Macbeth, Duncan and Malcolm Canmore. Yet he evidently also felt it necessary to justify the detail of his discussion; one side of him wanted the final proof to be established. In this respect his comments place the contemporary tourist visits to Iona in an historical perspective of their own:

So lange diese Untersuchungen in Händen wohlmeinender Dilettanten bleiben, ist wenig zu hoffen. Ich habe mich so ausführlich über diesen interessanten Königskirchhof verbreitet, um dadurch vielleicht in Deutschland, namentlich aber auch in Skandinavien, die Luft anzuregen, selbst zu sehen und eine Lösung zu versuchen. (ibid., 299)

As long as there was no solution Iona would continue to exert a romantic fascination.

For all his interest in the royal graves, it is as if Fontane was taken by surprise by the power of the religious associations of the Abbey ruins on Iona. He sees them as testimony to the pre-Roman Catholic days, when the island was famed as a place of pilgrimage, "eine Art 'heiliges Grab des Westens'", and, more particularly, to "jene besondere Heiligkeit ..., die vom siebenten bis zum elften Jahrhundert hin diesem Boden eigen war" (ibid., 293).

In comparison with Iona, the other important Culdee sites, such as Dunkeld, St. Andrews, Dunblane and Brechin, receive scant attention from the Germans. Kohl was alone in writing in any detail of Dunkeld's rôle in early Church mission work, and in doing so he quoted from Chambers (Kohl, i, 215f.). Many others visited Dunkeld, but it was enough for them to dwell on the Ossianic associations of the Hermitage grotto, or simply to admire the handsome larches, the well kept park and the picturesque setting of the Cathedral ruins by the river. The Reformation and the austere figure of John Knox were of more immediate interest.
b) THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND


(Rellstab, i, 226)

Rellstab was in Scotland in 1851, eight years after the Disruption and the establishment of the Free Kirk. What he says, however, can be seen to apply to the whole of the period under study, for throughout the 19th Century the Church held powerful sway in the land. For those Germans who wished to prepare themselves for experiencing this religiosity while in Scotland, such works as Pastor Wendeborn's Der Zustand des Staats, der Religion, der Gelehrsamkeit und der Kunst in Grosbritannien, of 1785, could provide a certain amount of background. Of the writers under study a few were to add to this information. Goede, for instance, in 1806, reported on the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Quaker and Baptist churches in Britain, while in the 1830's and 1840's Raumer was to make frequent reference to the religious affairs of the British Isles, and Kohl was to devote some 180 pages to the history of the British churches and the character of the different denominations. The dissenting sects were of great interest to the mostly Protestant German visitors, as Förster was to show in his account of life amongst English Quakers. This interest did not always show itself in Scotland, however. Those who wrote of Scottish church affairs in any depth tended to do so from an English vantage point. In the early 1840's the arguments which caused the Disruption of 1843 were of sufficient topical interest throughout Britain to persuade both Raumer, in 1841, and Kohl, in 1844, to discuss them at some length in their general works on Britain. Köstlin alone proved the exception to this.

Raumer's report (Raumer, 1841, 276ff.) is carefully researched and his sources acknowledged. He gives a short history of church patronage in Scotland, explains the Presbyterian system, writes of Thomas Chalmers, of the
rise of the new young opponents to patronage, of the dangers of the power of
veto, and attempts to give both sides to each of the disputed questions.
He adds his own conclusions: firstly, the dispute is a peculiarly Scottish
one; secondly, there is undoubtedly room for improvement in the present
system; thirdly, while no church can be a law unto itself, neither should it
be utterly beholden unto the state. According to Raumer's understanding of
the situation, the system of patronage appears preferable to giving the
congregation an absolute power of veto. Above all, he stresses the dangers
of any religious extremism which holds itself up as the God-given answer and
condemns its opponents as sinners. If neither side will give in, the
resulting sanctimoniousness smothers true Christian fellowship. Such an
attitude had been the death of many German sects during the Thirty Years War.
Raumer adds a note of warning in a footnote: it is dangerous for religious
sects in one country to equate themselves with or copy those of another nation.
The Scottish people would have done well to heed his final words, however:
"Mögen die Schotten, durch eigene wie fremde Erfahrungen belehrt, bald zur
milden Mäßigung zurückkehren und sich christbrüderlich die versöhnende
Hand reichen" (ibid. 299).

Part two of Kohl's Land und Leute der Britischen Inseln deals in depth
with three peculiarly British phenomena, the class system, the political
parties and the different religious denominations and sects. In the intro-
duction to the last section he states his belief that whatever religion a
people practises, one can always detect "bei jedem Volke eine gewisse
nationale Betrachtungsweise religiöser Dinge, eine Nationalreligion (Kohl,
GB, ii, 341). Thus German, French, Italian, Spanish and Irish Roman
Catholics differ as much from each other as do German, Scottish or American
Calvinists. His discussion is based on this premise. It is not the place
here to go into his findings in any detail, but the chapter headings alone
give an indication of the nature of his concern: "Uebersicht der Secten",
"Toleranz", "Geistlichkeit", "Kanzelberedtsamkeit", "Missionseifer", "Die
Bibel", "Der Sabbath" and "Famiengottesdienst". The development of
religious affairs in Scotland receives much of Kohl's attention in the earlier
chapters, when he writes of the established churches in Britain, the Dissenters,
the Seceders and the Noncomformists (many of whom, as he points out, are German-born Lutherans). He devotes four pages to the history of the Church of Scotland and the splits which had occurred within it (ibid., 369ff.) and cites statistics from the 1830's which show the extent of the breakaway groups, at the same time noting that many of the Scottish gentry and aristocracy kept themselves separate by belonging to the Episcopal Church. Kohl states that it is hardly necessary to talk of any tolerance amongst the Scottish Presbyterians, "da beinahe in der ganzen Welt ihr Fanatismus sprüchwörtlich geworden ist" (ibid., 382). He continues:

Die traurigen Kloster-, Abteien- und Kirchen-Ruinen, mit denen ihr Land Übersät ist, sind Zeugen dafür, und der kirchliche unfriedfertige Geist dieser Sects hat sich bis auf die neuesten Zeiten herab auf vielfache Weise thätig erwiesen. (ibid., 382f.)

They protest as much against Roman Catholicism as they do against Episcopalianism, considering themselves God's chosen people. Like Raumer before him, Kohl comments on the exclusive and unchristian nature of this attitude (ibid., 388ff.). He later discusses the disputed patronage system (ibid., 414ff.) and the position of the dissenting sects (ibid., 423ff.). He himself is evidently against the material wealth which can result from patronage.

Throughout the latter part of his discussion Kohl compares and contrasts the different state of affairs in Germany and Britain, covering such varied topics as the Bible's role in the family home, the propensity to true piety in the characters of both peoples, the element of religious allegory, contemplation and "Geist" in the respective literatures of each nation (including a comparison of Jacob Böhme and John Bunyan), and the German pantheism as opposed to the British formalism. In all, although there are certain elements of British religiosity from which Kohl feels the Germans could learn, the latter undoubtedly come out best. He focuses on one particular sphere of religious life in which the Scots match the Germans and far outdo the English in his view, namely pulpit eloquence. The English churchmen declaim with little, if any, effect, reading prewritten essays, but the Scottish Dissenters bring real life and energy to their preaching. To illustrate
Kohl refers his readers to a painting well known in Germany, where it had been popularised through copper-plate engravings, "John Knox's Predigt":


Kohl compares the picture to Lessing's "Hussitenpredigt", in which the preacher stands up on a grassy bank under the boughs of an oak tree. While such scenes occur only occasionally in Germany, they are frequent amongst the British Dissenters, especially in the mountain regions of Scotland and Wales. There is no rule for the Dissenters in preaching other than improvisation "und zuweilen fast tumultuarische Lebendigkeit"; the preacher's words flow like the mountain streams around him (ibid., 444). Kohl goes on to discuss the passion, and fanaticism, of both the Scottish preachers and their audience. He notes the frequent lack of biblical text for sermons and the use of set phraseology. This, he feels, is the reason for the greater popularity in Britain than Germany of "der mystische und schwärmerische Jacob Böhme" and "unsers glühenden und prophetisch beredten Krummacher's Werke" (ibid., 452). The scenes which brought Kohl to this conclusion — outdoor religious meetings with itinerant preachers — were frequently encountered by the Germans in Scotland.

During the actual visits to Scotland only six of the German travellers
took time to write of religious affairs beyond describing their impressions of outdoor preachers or the occasional church service. The six exceptions, Holzenthal, Huber, Maidinger, Löwenthal, Kohl and Köstlin, discuss the subject from varying standpoints. Holzenthal was concerned to give as accurate a picture as he could of life in the Border country during the war years of 1812-14 and evidently the rôle of religion was prominent enough to warrant the foreigner's attention. Löwenthal, on the other hand, in Scotland in 1822, was the only one of the German visitors who was a devoutly practising Roman Catholic and as such he never failed to comment on those aspects of religion in Scotland which he saw as a direct result of the harmful, if not insidious, Reformation. Köstlin, as a Württemberg Lutheran, attracted by the Free Church of Scotland, represented the opposing camp. To Maidinger, and, to a lesser extent, Kohl, personal religious affinity was subordinate to factual reporting. It was natural that religion should feature in their attempts at a comprehensive account of Scottish life and character.

Holzenthal gives a four-page account of the Church of Scotland. Where once the clergy wielded extraordinary power, he sees the tenets of Presbyterianism as having established amongst them "eine Art von geistlicher demokratischer Republick" (Holzenthal, 221). He goes on to give an account of the church services, the regular worship, baptism, marriage and funeral ceremonies. He comments on the method of precenting, that the ministers seldom wear special dress except occasionally to preach, that baptisms take place mostly in the home, are very informal and often not undertaken until the child is in his 12th or 18th year, that marriages are equally lacking in ceremony and the exchange of wedding rings not customary and, evidently remarkable in Holzenthal's view, that church law forbids a man to marry his sister-in-law, that the bereaved at funerals are heavily veiled, the mourners forming a disorderly procession round the coffin, and that, if the death has occurred in the home, no housework of any kind is undertaken until the body leaves the house. Holzenthal was particularly struck by the closing prayers at worship:

Für einen Fremden ist das letzte Gebet sehr auffallend. Jeder nimmt beim Aufstehen seine eigne Stellung, der Eine dreht dem Prediger den Rücken zu, ein Anderer sieht
The lack of music was to strike many who came after him. As to the insistence on the Biblical text for sermons, Holzenthal remarks, "da diese für das non plus ultra des menschlichen Wissens in religiöser Hinsicht gehalten wird, so würde es criminell sein, den Worten einen andern Sinn unterzuschieben" (ibid.). He also gives an account of the constitution and duties of the General Assembly, synods, presbyteries and kirk sessions. In conclusion he comments that although the Church of Scotland may have relaxed something of its former intolerance, it is still very prejudiced against other religious denominations, especially Roman Catholicism:

und kaum kann der bigotteste Spanier verkehrter von dem Protestantismus urtheilen, als es hier von dem Catholicismus geschieht, denn Catholick zu seyn und kein Christ und kein guter Mensch, ist bei dem hiesigen Volk einerlei.

(ibid. 224)

Over half of Huber's account, "Briefe aus Schottland", published in Cotta's 'Morgenblatt' in 1825, presents a picture of the rôle of religion in the Edinburgh he had visited in 1823-4. He provides, for instance, insight into the home lives of a successful and liberal church preacher and of "Lady N.", a wealthy mission worker and philanthropist who had founded a girls' home in Edinburgh, into Scottish religiosity and Sabbath keeping, the effect of the Reformation and Presbyterianism on Scottish life, the rôle of the Bible, the work and character of Dr. Chalmers, the day schools and Sunday schools, hospitals, asylums and penal institutions. Huber's report is based very much on his own experiences and observations in Edinburgh and as such is complementary to Holzenthal's impressions of provincial religion. Also in the 1820's Meidinger was to supplement the figures which Holzenthal had reported. In the index to his Reisen he lists the synods and presbyteries of the Church of Scotland, the Original Burghers, the Dissenters, the Reformed Presbyterians, the Seceders, and the dioceses of the Scottish Episcopal and Roman Catholic churches (Meidinger, Reisen, 218ff.). In both
his works Meidinger states the number and denomination of the churches in most of the Scottish towns. From Edinburgh he reports on a rebirth of music in the churches, with the founding, in 1815, of the Institution for Sacred Music, whose 380 pupils take a gratifying part in the various church services of the town. Meidinger himself could not approve of the absence of organs in churches. After listing the fifty-six churches of Edinburgh and Leith, he continues: "John Knox brachte die Reformation in Schottland zu Stande. Er war der erste protestantische Prediger, und verursachte, dass alle Klöster und Abteien abgeschafft wurden" (ibid., Briefe, 150).

Such over-simplification of a long and complicated history was quite common from the Germans, but Meidinger did at least augment it with a useful account of the constitution of the Church of Scotland, on which he was to expand in his later work (ibid. & Reisen, 26ff.). In the latter publication he refers to several church buildings by name, in particular three new churches in Edinburgh, the Catholic and the Episcopal St. Paul's and St. John's (ibid., Reisen, 27f.). He was to refer to the Laiety's Directory for 1826 as a source of information and throughout his Reisen makes a point of mentioning the huge variety of denominations and sects in Scotland. From Glasgow alone, for instance, he writes of the Presbyterians, Cameronians, Seceders, Relief, Independents, Methodists, Baptists, Unitarians, Glassites, Bereans, Universalists, Roman Catholics, and even of two Jewish synagogues (ibid., 99), while throughout the country he makes frequent mention of the many fine monasteries and abbeys which had been the victims of the Reformation.

What had been merely a matter for observation for Meidinger was an obsession for Löwenthal, also in Scotland in the 1820's. Throughout his tour of Britain he voices much anti-Protestant opinion and displays no sympathy at all for such sects as the Quakers. Nonetheless while in Glasgow he was curious to attend "eine von den Puritanerdunklen Predigtstuben" (Löwenthal, ii, 92); in fact he was to find his way into a Baptist Chapel. The room was large and full, with a preacher and no organ. After a New Testament reading, "ein priesterlicher Doctor" went to the lectern and recited a prayer in a monotonous, nasal and almost laughable manner. The congregation were bowed so devoutly in prayer that some had their backs to the preacher. After a psalm a long and boring sermon ensued,
der, je länger er währte, desto mehr zu einer nackten, theologisch dialectischen Demonstration und Sylbenstecherei wurde, so dass ich mir kaum etwas Nutzloses, Trockeneres und Unerbaulicheres denken konnte. Vor Ende seiner Homiletik unterbrach sich der Lehrer, indem er zwei kleine Mädchen, welche seine Weisheit nicht völlig nach Gebühr gewürdigt haben mochten, zur Thüre hinaus wies, mit dem excommunicirenden Beisatze: "und kommt nie wieder!" (And never come in again!). Nach der Predigt wurde noch ein geistlich Lied gesungen, welchem zu meiner nicht geringen Freude der allgemeine Aufbruch der Versammlung folgte.

(ibid., 93)

Later, as he toured the country, Löwenthal was to comment on several ecclesiastical ruins. The first he encountered were those of Dunkeld. Knowledge of their history completely obliterated any potential picturesque attraction:


(ibid., 120)

Similar comments arise from the sight of the Abbey at Scone, although at Kinfauns Löwenthal's interest was caught by Wilkie's new painting, "Scottish Tent Preaching" (ibid. 122). Yet Löwenthal was by no means unwilling to enter into conversation on the subject of religion. On the steamer on Loch Ness he met a young man who was to remind him of the "streng milden Reformator" in Scott's Monastery [presumably Henry Warden] and who tried to vindicate the Scottish Sabbath-keeping "mit vieler Salbung und häufiger Anführung von Bibelstellen" (ibid., 115). Having reached Inverness, Löwenthal accompanies his "Pietist" (ibid., 123) on a walk along the river, during which the latter assailed two old women with a religious test (in which they hardly excelled!). He left them with some of the many religious tracts he was carrying and which he was to scatter liberally out of the coach window as they travelled on. Löwenthal found his "frommer Reisegefährt" to be a pedant in both his physical and spiritual life. At every village he would ask pointless questions, always enquiring after the name and quality of the minister. He told
Löwenthal that he never attended the theatre in his home town of Glasgow, for fear that it might exert a harmful influence on his servants; in any case the theatre was sinful. Löwenthal comments:

Der Glaube der schottischen Kirche will in aller Versinnlichung des Schönen noch immer nicht viel Besseres, als Gottlosigkeit sehen; er ist allem Aufblühen der Kunst feindselig entgegen. Keine Orgel tönt in Schottlands Kirchen; wer träumte da auch nur von Mozart und Cherubini?!

(ibid.)

He concludes that, even in a city the size of Glasgow, with a population of 100,000, it is hardly surprising that a theatre cannot survive all year round.

Twenty years later, in 1842, Kohl was in Scotland at a crucial time in Scottish church history. He, too, was to encounter a Scottish preacher on a steamer crossing, this time to Fife. His travelling companions warn him against the man as a "highfligher" [sic] (Kohl, i, 97), but he allows himself to enter into conversation with the man, who looks to him more like a wealthy farmer than a preacher. Regarding the disagreements between the Church of Scotland and the British Government the preacher states that the Government is working to remove the Kirk's God-given power, which, were it to happen, would be depriving the Lord of his glory. Kohl then feels moved to launch into a (for him) surprisingly outspoken attack on Scottish Presbyterianism. The Presbyterians may claim to emulate the early Christians, but in reality their strictness seems to Kohl to be more akin to Papal doctrine. They set their "power of the keys", bequeathed direct from St. Peter, against the State's "power of the sword", and their General Assembly, with the Moderator at its head,

betrachtet sich in geistlichen Dingen eben so souverain in Schottland, wie der Staat es in weltlichen Dingen ist, und kämpft für die Unantastbarkeit dieser Rechte gegen die Übergriffe von Seiten Englands eben so eifrig, unnachgiebig- und untrüglich, wie der Papst es gegen die Kaiser des römischen Reiches that.

(Kohl, i, 99)

In no other church in Europe, apart from the Roman Catholic, is such sovereign power upheld. In Russia, Poland, Prussia, and in other Protestant states, the King is the head of the Church, and in most Catholic states, the state
exerts a considerable influence on the Church. But in Scotland the sovereignty of the Church is recognised, and since the Union of the crowns, the British kings and queens have been unable to challenge it. This division of Church and State leaves some areas where sovereignty is debated, and Kohl cites the patronage of ministers as such an example; who should hold the right of patronage, the town councils, the nobility, (most of whom are members of the Episcopal Church) or the parishes themselves? Kohl goes on to discuss the Anti-Patronage Societies and the recent events surrounding the Claim of Rights, of May 1842, from which he quotes and translates at some length (ibid., 103ff.). Since the Scots had spread with their Church throughout the world, forming presbyteries in England, Ireland, Holland, Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Australia, Guiana, Southern Africa, the West and East Indies and North and South America, Kohl is certain that the Claim of Rights will gain much attention:

Ich sage, dieses Document ist an und für sich ein sehr interessantes, da es als eine Erscheinung unserer Zeit in der Reihe vieler anderen von derselben Kirche ausgegangenen Claims of rights dasteht, und da Jemand, der jetzt in Schottland reist, ohne mit demselben bekannt zu sein, die Aufregung, die im Lande herrscht, nicht verstehen würde. Dann aber auch gibt es denjenigen, die sich von den Schotten und ihrem Wesen eine deutliche Vorstellung machen möchten, eine sehr gute Idee von der Art, wie eine grosse Menge von Schottzen zu denken und sich auszudrücken pflegt.

(ibid. 108)

One would be mistaken in presuming that the mode of expression in the Claim of Rights was obscure in its solemnity; as with Papal documents the language has been the same down the centuries, and the same Presbyterian phraseology is to be found in all the Church of Scotland acts. Moreover, it is a language used not only in written church documents, but in daily life by clerics and laymen alike.

Auch von den-Laien sage ich; denn es ist in dem Wesen der presbyterianischen Kirche begründet, dass die Lairen gar nicht so scharf von den Clerikern geschieden sind, und dass sie alle mit einander, so zu sagen, eine gewisse priesterliche Färbung an sich haben. Ich muss darauf verzichten, diese durch einige interessante und aus dem
And so he returns to his Fife preacher on the steamer journey up the Forth; he needed the background information to understand the man's comments concerning the fight against the Tories over the Church. The latter had travelled Germany, disgusted at the lack of respect shown in that country for the Sabbath and surprised at the "popery" he found in the Rhine country; his goal had been Geneva, and Kohl comments on how often he had heard Scots express the wish to see Geneva, Calvin's city and "eine Art Zion" (ibid., 109) for many a Scots presbyterian. The steamer deposits the "highflyer" in a Fife village and continues on its way up the river. Another preacher is left on board and serves as a contrast; he is a pleasant and well educated minister, who invited Kohl to visit him at his "manse and glebe" in Muthill (ibid., 110). Ministers evidently had reason to complain of their low wage when viewed in comparison with the pre-Reformation wealth of the Church; and yet Kohl is sure that no German village preacher would consider the lot of a Scottish minister worth complaint, since the lowest wage he heard of was £150 a year, notwithstanding manse and glebe. Moreover, he deems the Scottish minister, while never as rich as the richest English priest, at the same time never as poor as the poorest English vicar (ibid., 132).

Kohl was to find proof that the Reformation was still alive for the people of Scotland in the subject matter of the prints in the many Edinburgh art shops. Copper engravings of the death of Calvin were to be found in most of these; Kohl considers the Reformer to be more popular in Scotland even than in his native Switzerland:

Es ist merkwürdig, mit welcher Peinlichkeit auf diesen Bildern alle solche Dinge vermieden werden, welche nach der Meinung der Presbyterianer eine Anspielung auf "the superstitions of popery" enthalten könnten. Z.B. kein schottischer Presbyterianer würde das Bild eines Apostela
oder heiligen Mannes kaufen, um dessen Haupt sich ein Heiligenschein befände. Es gibt hier grosse Bilderbogen für das Volk, worüber geschrieben steht: "the witnesses for the truth in the church of Scotland" (die Zeugnisse für die Wahrheit in der Kirche von Schottland). Auf diesen Bogen sieht man dann in einer Reihe von kleinen Holzschnitten eine Menge Scenen aus der schottischen Reformationszeit dargestellt, die Verbrennung Patrick Hamilton's, Robert Lamb's, Thomas Forrest's und anderer Märtyrer, welche es verweigerten, zu den Heiligen zu beten, und welche das Lesen der heiligen Schrift anempfahlen und dafür auf den Scheiterhaufen kamen, - die Predigt John Knox's, - das Gebet von John Walsh, - Samuel Rutherford im Gefängnisse und dergleichen. Haben unsere Reformierten in Deutschland ähnliche Bilderbogen?

In contrast to this Kohl also witnesses what he terms a Scottish Counter-Reformation, a growth of interest and membership in the Roman Catholic Church. He hears of many converts to the Roman Church and is told on several occasions that most of these are either Highlanders or those from the rich upper classes (ibid., 75). He cites a new church in Dunkeld, built by a convert to Catholicism, as an example of this new trend (ibid., 74f.) and hears of several more in the Highlands. It is a trend which he seems to be worldwide and not merely spreading from Ireland through the British Isles. He cites figures from the 'Edinburgh Almanach' concerning the new Catholic seminary by Aberdeen, St. Mary's College, and records that there are as many as fifty Roman Catholic congregations in the country, albeit mostly in the towns settled by the Irish. There are also many more Catholics in proportion to the population in the western and northern districts as opposed to the eastern. The Reformation had been most keenly felt in the English-speaking areas and had not therefore penetrated to such an extent in the more remote glens and islands (ibid., 76f.).

It was Kohl who was to give most information on Knox and his impact on Scottish life and history. He acknowledges his main source of information to be Robertson, but he does also make his own observations. He remarks, for instance, on a certain similarity between Knox and Luther, "den er aber an Rauheit und Feuer eben so übertraf, wie die damaligen Schotten uns an Wildheit und Unbildung übertrafen" (ibid., 1, 72). It seems strange indeed to Kohl that Knox's house should now be a much frequented gin-shop. He
visited it one evening and could hardly find his way out again for the crush
of dram-drinkers:

In der That, wäre es möglich, dass Knox einmal wieder in
Netherbow erschien, er würde jetzt ganz andere Leute und
Dinge zum Tempel hinauszujagen haben, die eben so verderblich
sind als "superstition and popery" (Aberglaube und Papstthum).
Steh es nicht in der Gewalt der Edinburgher Obrigkeit, den
Ginladen und den Branntweinscandal aus des Reformators
Hause zu vertreiben, so sollten sie doch wenigstens das Portrait
dieses Mannes so schnell als möglich von jenem Hause wegnnehmen und die besagten drei Worte [the words ³Deus³ —
god', inscribed on the outer wall of the house, next to the silhouette of Knox] auslöschen lassen, die in gar zu
großem Widerspruche mit dem Treiben unten stehen.

(Edward).)

Later on his tour, after viewing the Knox pulpit in Stirling, Kohl observes
that the Scots show off many such pulpits throughout the land. He compares
them with the pulpits of Luther, Zwingli and other German Reformers: "Die
Kanzeln sind die eigenthümlichsten Reliquien der Stifter unserer Religion,
die ihr neues Gebäude bloss mit dem Worte und auf das Wort gründeten"
(Edward., 118).

Kohl's reaction to the religious character of the Scots was on the whole
sceptical. This comes out especially in his accounts of sermons he heard in
Glasgow and in his description of an encounter with a loud and ostentatious
Irishman on the stage coach to Inverness. The latter enjoys mocking the
Scots and their country as much as he does 'converting' them; Kohl was
amused, but not impressed. In Kohl's view the tracts which cost the Irishman
but sixpence per hundred might well cost their recipients much more in
harmful misinterpretation of the word of God:

Die darin abgehandelten Dinge waren mir so vollkommen
unverständlich, dass, wenn ich sie auch nicht gerade als
das Werk der Finsternisse bezeichnen will, ich doch sagen
muss, dass nicht der geringste gesunde Menschenverstand
darin zu finden war und das folglich das Fundament alles
Lichts darin fehlte, und dass ich glaube, dass weder Gott
mit Wohlgefallen auf diese Dinge herabsah, noch auch,
dass diesen armen schwer arbeitenden Leuten und diesen
kleinen zerrumpften Kindern irgend ein Tröpfchen Himmelstrost
damit in den Becher ihrer Leiden geträufelt wurde.

(Edward. 199)
Finally, Kohl was to see emptiness behind the oratory of the Scottish preachers he heard, even those who had been upheld as the finest in Glasgow:

> Es ist eine gewisse apostolische Haftigkeit, eine gewisse übertriebene und orientalische Ausdrucksweise in den Reden dieser presbyterianischen Prediger, die mit der Einfachheit ihres äusseren Gottesdienstes und überhaupt ihres ganzen Wesens in einem grossen Widerspruch steht. Sie reden alle in der Art und Weise, wie unser Elberfelder Krummacher, dessen Schriften daher dort vielleicht noch ein grosseres Publicum haben als bei uns. Dabei haben aber alle ihre oratorischen Blüthen und Bilder etwas so Stereotypes, dass man nicht den Eindruck und die Ueberzeugung empfängt, als käme diese Alles warm und lebendig aus einem von Eifer glühenden Herzen hervor. (ibid., 26)

Kohl was to identify this trait as "derselbe heftige calvinistische-Geist" -- which was transplanted to Scotland by Knox and which still fired the preachers of the Scotland he visited in the 1840’s:

> In der That, John Knox muss ein ausserordentlicher Mann gewesen sein, dass er seinen Geist und sein Wesen einem ganzen Volke auf diese dauernde Weise einimpfte, ja dass er diese gewissermassen wider den Willen und wider die Natur des Volksgenius that. Denn von Haus aus scheint die kühle, berechnete, verständige nordische Natur des Schotten für nichts weniger als für religiösen Fanatismus gestimmt und empfänglich zu sein, eine Sache, die man mehr einer feurigen Gemüthsart, wie die Spanier, die Araber und andere Nationen sie haben, wahlverwandt halten sollte. (ibid., i, 26)

As a theologian, with a genuine vocational and spiritual interest in the religious affairs of contemporary Scotland, Julius Köstlin stands apart from his fellow travellers. Having attended Mission Meetings in Exeter Hall on their arrival in London, he and his friend, Burk, planned their visit to Edinburgh in May 1849 to coincide with the meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, but more particularly with the Free Kirk Assembly. Köstlin was a great admirer of Thomas Chalmers, who had died two years previously, and was thus honoured to have an introduction to his son-in-law, William Hanna. In his autobiography he writes of several other Free Kirk members, whom he met, for instance Duncan and the then Moderator, Cunningham,
and also of one prominent Church of Scotland figure, Norman Macleod (Köstlin, 120ff.). Köstlin admits to having been ill-prepared for a visit to the established Church and was thus all the more grateful for the chance introduction to Macleod. Equipped with the necessary passes, Köstlin and Burk attended both the Assemblies with interest. Writing many years later, Köstlin was of the opinion that never in all his career did he attend a church conference in which the delegates worked such hard or long hours, covering such a wide scope. He was struck, too, by the free manner in which personalities were discussed in public, especially over the voting for a new Moderator and church professor (ibid., 124). Above all, Köstlin was impressed with the advanced state of Home Mission in Scotland and in particular with the flourishing Sunday schools. He gave much credit to Chalmers for this and saw it as a field in which Germany was far behind.

Köstlin had been frustrated that he could find no clear account in German of the Scottish church. There were many contradictions which he felt needed clarification; this was perhaps the main reason for his later study, Die schottische Kirche. As regards the split within the Church of Scotland, he relates a conversation he had had with the theologian, Dr. Barth, who had stressed the paradoxical nature of the rift:

> als ihn ein freikirchlicher Schotte über den Streit befragt habe, habe er erwidert "Sie haben Recht;" als ihm auch ein staatskirchlicher seine Gründe auseinander gesetzt, abermals "Sie haben Recht;" und als ihm beide entgegnet, sie können doch nicht zusammen Recht haben, wiederum: "Sie haben auch darin Recht;" das Weitere wollte er meinem eigenen Nachdenken überlassen.  

(ibid., 130)

It was while in Scotland that Köstlin came to realise that there was hypocrisy on both sides; sanctimonious Presbyterianism was not New Testament Protestantism: "hörten wir doch eine Klage aus englischem Mund: viele Schotten seien am Sonntag Engel, in der Woche Teufel" (ibid., 131). Nonetheless he continues:

> Weitaus überwiegend aber und überwältigend war und blieb für uns bei den öffentlichen Verhandlungen und beim Verkehr mit Geistlichen, Laien und namentlich auch schlachten Leuten aus dem Volk der Eindruck eines wahren, tiefen, sittlich religiösen Ernstes und einer in ihrer Art
Although the Scottish Presbyterianism might seem one-sided as a Reformed faith, Köstlin himself felt there to be a truly catholic concern for Protestant fellowship amongst the Scottish people, and, what was perhaps more important to him personally as the future biographer of Germany's Reformer, a deep respect for Luther.

There is no room here to investigate the content of the report which Köstlin published immediately after his Scottish visit in the German home mission journal, 'Fliegende Blätter aus dem rauhen Hause', under the title "Mittheilungen über Schottland". It is essentially an account of Scotland's Home Mission, designed to supplement articles which had already appeared in the journal earlier that year. The topics covered are varied, from enmity between the Established and Free Churches to weekly prayer and Bible studies, from parish work to Sabbath-keeping, from street preaching to poor visiting. He writes, for instance, of the youth club, the Scottish Young Men's Society (ibid., Mittheilungen, VI., 400), of the Free Kirk's Dr. Hetherington preaching outdoors to huge crowds near Edinburgh (ibid., 416), of the pathetic German children in Edinburgh, 'sold' abroad to eke out a miserable living from playing the barrel organ or cymbals and for whom a young chemist from Frankfurt, Dr. V., had founded a Sunday school (at which Köstlin himself taught twice during his stay) (ibid., VII, 13), of Edinburgh's "original ragged schools" (ibid. 24), of the refuges, shelters and soup-kitchens throughout the country (ibid., 26ff.), of Mr. Tasker's new "Territorial Visitor's Manual" (ibid., 271), of the Savings Banks started by churchmen (ibid., 291), of teetotal societies and the model lodging houses (ibid., 308ff.). A few of the subheadings serve to give a taste of the whole: "Einfluss der Schottischen Kirche auf Ehe, Schule und Haus durch Wochengottesdienste, durch die Gemeindearbeit der Laienältesten und Diakonen, durch Hausgottesdienste, Jünglingsvereine, Gemeindebibliotheken und Herausgabe religiöser Schriften"; "Die Traktate und ein Hinderniss ihres Segens"; "Die Polizei hilft innere Mission treiben, liest die Bettelkinder aus den Gassen zusammen"; "Wie die Sache beim ersten Besuche in der Hütte des
Armen anzugreifen"; and, finally, "Parallelen zwischen Schottland und Deutschland". Köstlin's overall conclusion is that although the churches of each nation are different, the German "innere Mission" could well learn something from the Scottish Home Mission. (ibid., 311). Only Maidinger before him had so much as mentioned this aspect of Scottish religious life, when he reported on the S.P.C.K.'s work in the Highlands and Islands, but he had paid no attention to the Church's role in this (Maidinger, Briefe, 141f.).

Of the remaining visitors several comment on aspects of religious life in Scotland, but none with the detail or concern shown by those above. In 1803 Johanna Schopenhauer was impressed by the devoutness of the Highlanders whom she encountered on the road to Killin:

Fast in jeder Hütte, in welcher wir einkehrten, sahen wir eine Bibel, ein Gebetbuch, auch wohl irgend eine alte Chronik, aus welchen der Hausvater Sonntags die Seinen erbaut. Winters mögen die Wege den Besuch der Kirchen sehr erschweren, doch kann gewiss nur die Unmöglichkeit den frommen Bergschotten davon abhalten, obgleich die meisten einen sehr weiten Weg dahin zu machen haben. (Schopenhauer, 316f.)

On asking a pretty young girl what they do when confined to their huts in winter, she was told, "Wir beten und spinnen!" (ibid. 317). In Dalmally Schopenhauer was to see her first Highland church, only distinguishable from other houses in the village by its graveyard. A few years later Nemnich was to mention religion only in conjunction with the intolerance shown by the British Government towards the Catholics in Ireland, where many Scottish Dissenters had settled (Nemnich, 603).

Most of the later visitors did comment on Knox sites, most often his house in Edinburgh and St. John's Kirk in Perth. 16 Brandes was even to transcribe the inscription from the Knox Monument in Glasgow with its dedication to Patrick Hamilton (Brandes, footnote, 23). In 1852 Kalckstein, like Kohl before him, was to be tickled by the present use of John Knox's House:

Bei dem Cultus den sonst die britische Nation in so hochherziger Weise der Erinnerung an die persönlichen
Kalckstein was to perceive incongruitities in and around St. Giles. The Cathedral itself he saw as a strange mixture of styles, but the contradiction extends beyond the architecture to the present use of the building, with space reserved inside for public meetings and other lay concerns as well as for worship, and to the market stalls set up along its outside walls.

To Ullrich, five years later, it was Holyrood where Knox came alive, as Mary's antagonist:

In diesem Gemach war es, wo Maria, bald in den ersten Jahren ihrer Herrschaft, von Zeit zu Zeit jene erschütternden Auftritte mit dem gewaltigen Reformator und Prediger hatte, der in unbeugsamer Strenge und Freimütigkeit wie auf der Kanzel, so auch, zur Privatverantwortung gezogen, hier gegen das leichtfertige Leben, gegen das haltungslose Regiment und gegen den Papismus der jungen Königin seine ermahnende, warnende Stimme erhob. .... Maria vergoss Thränen, bald vor Rührung, bald vor innerer Erbitterung, wenn Knox, der Mann der ernsten und starren Asketik, mit seiner Rede auf sie eindrang; aber sie war ohnmächtig gegen ihn und rettete sich aus der Fluth der sie umdrohenden Verhältnisse am liebsten dadurch, dass sie Holyrood, so oft sie sich beängstigt fühlte, verliess, und auf den Schlössern ihrer Freunde im Lande zum Besuch einkehrte, um zerstreuen Vergnügungen nachzujagen.

(Ullrich, 414f.)
Opinions differed as to the two aspects of Scottish religious life most often encountered, namely church services and outdoor preaching. In 1817 Meissner, who wrote of the Scots' "wahre Religiosität" (Meissner, 203), had been assured of the successes of the Religious Tract Society (ibid., 225), and Isensee, in 1835, was to comment that while some might laugh at the over-emphasis of religious orthodoxy in Scotland, he had been impressed by it:

"Mich hat indessen der Ernst, der in der Unterhaltung hier vorherrscht, die seelenvolle Kirchlichkeit, die, schon äusserlich dem Gemüth wohlthuende Ruhe, die hier Jeden ins Gotteshaus begleitet, und nicht wie bei uns in der Kirche Hin- und Her- oder gar Herauslaufen etc. duldet, wirklich sehr angezogen."

(Isensee, 133)

But in fact he was to find a street preacher more characteristic of Edinburgh religiousity. He describes how the man set himself up by the Post Office in Princes Street and preached into the crowded street, even though the churchgoers had all already listened to three lengthy sermons that day (ibid., 133f.). The same year Raumer experienced the admonishments of a street preacher in Leith. He was attracted by the crowd surrounding the man, a well dressed individual with a round hat, large whiskers, the Bible in one hand and a glove in the other:

"Wozu, sprach er, ist die Religion? Sie soll euch lehren nicht zu leben, sondern zu sterben; nicht zu geniessen, sondern zu entbehren. Was befiehlt sie euch? Dem Irrischen abzusterben, es zu vernichten, euch an jene Welt anzuklammern, weil diese in den Klauen des Satans ist. Ihr solltet eure Augen verschliessen gegen das Sichtbare, eure Ohren gegen das Hörbare, eure Gedanken sammeln und sie immerdar richten auf den Zorn Gottes und das furchtbare Gericht des letzten Tages!"

(Raumer, 1835, 375)

Raumer, who had been innocently enjoying the beauties of Nature, was shocked by the admonitions and left in a hurry. As he walked back into town he passed another preacher, "und Sünde, Rache, Straf, Tod, Verdamniss, und Nichts als dieses" (ibid. 376). After having attended a tedious Presbyterian service in the morning, Raumer now feels moved to attack the extremes to which Puritanism can so easily lead. He considered the church to be the
aspect of life in which England and Scotland most differed, and he found fault with both the established churches. His description of the service he attended in Edinburgh is a good indication of his attitude to the practices of the Church of Scotland. Having bemoaned the lack of an organ for the singing, he describes the prayers:

Der Geistliche machte ein so klägliches, hippokratisches Gesicht, als sey er dem Tode nahe, oder auf der Marterbank; und ganz in Übereinstimmung mit dieser Miene begann er nun ein langhingezogenes, eintöniges Seufzen, Ächzen, dass mir angst und bang zu Muthe ward und meine, sonst gelassenen, Nerven so überreizt wurden, dass ich es kaum aushalten konnte. Gegen diesen unendlich langen Bandwurm eines selbstfabricirten Gebetes, erschien mir die ganze englische Liturgie wie eine halbe, in der Mitte abgebrochene Periode eines wortkargen Spartaners. (ibid., 372f.)

The sermon matched the prayers, and Raumer concludes:

Wie solcherlei Predigten vor Gott Beifall finden (dem tausend Jahre sind wie ein Tag) weiss ich nicht; mir kurzlebenden Sterblichen ward (was mir sonst nie widerfährt) die Zeit sehr lang, und ich fand dass Gott, wenn er Sonntags an seinem Ruhetage alle Predigten der Welt anzuhören verpflichtet ist, sich bei sich selbst bedanken muss, wenn die Geschäfte der viel heiteren und mannigfaltigeren Werkeltage erst wieder angenommen. (ibid. 373)

The extent of Raumer's boredom can be judged by the fact that he was not wont to make such frivolous remarks.

In 1828 Moscheles had also expressed his dissatisfaction with church services in Edinburgh. His main complaints concerned the lack of organ music and the strangeness of the psalm singing, but he also found fault with a certain Dr. Thomson's sermon. Although its content was acceptable, Moscheles found the sing-song accent and the exaggerated gesticulations of the preacher distasteful (Moscheles, 191). In 1836 Hailbronner and Pulszky were likewise to find much to criticise in the Scottish churches. Hailbronner writes of a minister, expelled from the Established Church for dining with a Roman Catholic, who had then formed a Penticostalist congregation about him. Such groups, speaking "vulgo Unsinn", were
becoming more and more common, but Hailbronner was impressed neither by
the determined Dissenters nor by the Kirk itself:

Eine Predigt der hiesigen Kirche ist ein merkwürdiger
Galimatias und ein solcher Missbrauch des Dogma's
und alles christlichen Menschenverstandes, dass unsern
Mystikern dabei selbst unheimlich zu Muthe werden
könnte. Der Bigottismus ist hier Fanatismus geworden,
und das alte Testament regiert hier mehr, wie das neue.

(Hailbronner, 337f.)

In this light he tells of a "Family Shakespeare" edition he finds in a house
he visits in Scotland. This is an abridged and edited version, in which
everything which could possibly be construed as offensive or suggestive
has been removed. Hailbronner mischievously asks the owners if they have
a similar "Family Holy Bible", but receives no answer.

Pulszky was to discuss British religion in a chapter entitled "Der
englische Sonntag" (Pulszky, 8ff.). In his view religion had taken on
quite the wrong rôle in the life of the British and he has no qualms about
attacking it. All the British sects seem riddled with a "Verfolgungs-
und Ausschliessungsgeist", and even if it had been more as a result of
historical circumstance than religious conviction that Henry VIII had chosen
to break away from the Church of Rome, Mary Queen of Scots to abide by it,
and Cromwell to indulge in such strict Puritanism, all the denominations
and sects still hate each other unreasonably. Pulszky's interest was
quite genuine and while in Britain he attended a Roman Catholic mass, a
Quaker meeting, a Methodist service and an outdoor assembly. In Pulszky's
view the Old Testament had smothered the New in Britain, materialism had
crushed spirituality and pleasure had been cast aside.

Hallberg-Broich's views from the end of the 1830's, although typically
whimsical, would seem to be in agreement with those of Pulszky. Hallberg
writes of hypocrisy within both the Church of Scotland and the Church of
England, especially regarding the Bible (Hallberg-Broich, 56). He finds
the "Bibel-Propaganda" hard to swallow; wherever he goes he is offered
bibles for sale, in many different languages, yet he never once sees alms
being given to the poor (ibid., 84). He enjoys telling anecdotes to
illustrate his point. A final quip concerns the heritage left by the
Catholic and Protestant churches; the former have left fine cathedrals
and churches, the latter nothing but a few million bibles, "welche die Würmer fressen, und die Ursache des Zanks, Streits und der Ermordung so vieler hunderttausend Narren waren" (ibid., 90). These bibles are inescapable; Hallberg finds them in nearly every hotel parlour, yet never finds them on the bill!

One of the very first sights the King of Saxony's party had on crossing the border into Scotland was that of a Free Church Sunday service in progress. A group of people, sheltering from the rain under umbrellas, were gathered round a low, flat-roofed building, and Carus realised that they were listening to a sermon, there being no room for them inside. The strange sight makes him think of early Christian times (Carus, ii, 181). Later, on their visit to Caerleon, they were to encounter another such Free Kirk service. This time the well-dressed congregation were gathered on the hillside round a small roadside chapel. The sermon had evidently just finished and they met several of the congregation on the road, "denen unsre weltliche Sonntagsfahrt einige Ärgerniss zu geben schien" (ibid., 251). While staying at Taymouth, Carus learns that the Marquis of Breadalbane and his household adhere to the Free Kirk. Carus' own, perhaps simplified, understanding of what he terms "die kirchlichen Wirren von Schottland", becomes clear when he comments: "Es überraschte mich nicht; denn eine gewisse Popularität und Freisinnigkeit hatte ich gleich bei der ersten Begegnung dem trefflichen Manne abgefühlt" (ibid., 264).

While the King attended mass on their final morning in Edinburgh, Carus took the opportunity of experiencing a Presbyterian service in the company of the Saxon envoy and Lord Morton. From his description it would seem to have been an Episcopal service, but he does not say which church it was. He approved of its simple Gothic style, the organ and the choir and the congregation's responses, which reminded him of ancient tragedy. There was no sermon and the congregation knelt for prayers:

Nur die Litaneien sind zu lang und enthalten Manches, was klare, vernünftige Einsicht nicht zu billigen vermag. Ich zähle dazu auch das jedesmal mehrfach erneute Vorlesen der in ganzem breitem Englisch vorgetragenen alten mosaischen Gesetze. (ibid. 319)
Yet it is this which seems at last to give him an understanding of British, and more particularly Scottish, sabbath-keeping. At every church service the congregation will be told to honour the Sabbath Day as the day of the Lord, and in Carus’ mind it is quite natural that the people should find this commandment easier to keep than some of the others. Whether the service he attended was Presbyterian or Episcopalian, Carus’ reaction to either would doubtless have been similar:

Die eigne puritanische Strenge, welche das englishe Kirchenwesen auszeichnet, wurde in der Haltung aller Anwesenden gar deutlich fühlbar. Ich war ganz zufrieden, als ich mich wieder unter freiem Himmel befand.

(ibid.)

Brandes, finding himself in Oban on his first Sunday in Scotland in 1850, soon realised that there was nothing to do but attend church. Everyone in the town was either going to or coming from one of the seven churches and so, seeing one of the church doors open, he, too, entered. The minister had already begun the sermon and was speaking not from a pulpit, as Brandes expected, but from a lectern, and in English rather than Gaelic. Brandes found his delivery extremely monotonous. He could understand enough of the sermon to realise that it concerned repentance, but it was hard to listen when the preacher’s English was so much less pleasing to the ear than German. The psalm singing was a welcome relief: "er tönte so lieblich und melodisch, wiewohl ihn keine Orgel begleitete, wie ich auch keine in der Kirche bemerkte" (Brandes, 31). It is to Brandes’ credit that he did venture into a Highland church, even if he was not sure which denomination it was.

Brandes also acknowledged the historical religious importance of various sites on his tour. Dundee, for instance, he saw not only as an important modern industrial and trading centre, but also as a centre of the Reformation, the first city to denounce publically the Roman Catholic faith in favour of the Protestant, thereby earning itself the name of the "second Geneva". He also tells of its sacking during the Restoration, when each soldier received £60 as his share of the booty (ibid., 55). Brandes also writes of the history of Melrose and Holyrood Abbeys and was one of the few to mention the National Covenant (ibid., 68ff., 73ff.). In Edinburgh the same year, Lewald
was to refer to Chambers' account of the signing of the National Covenant. She herself saw some of the original documents in the Signet Library. Her facts are a little confused, but the niceties of the turbulent Scottish religious history were not her prime concern; she finds the most striking feature of the documents to be the many rosettes framing the "Negative Confession" like vignettes, and the large blood stains on the Covenant, the result of many having signed it with their blood (Lewald, ii, 231).

At the time of her visit the General Assembly of 1843 was still vivid in the minds of the Scots: "Die Opfer, welche die Free churchmen gebracht haben, um vor sechs Jahren die Freiheit der Gemeine bei der Wahl ihrer Geistlichen durchzusetzen, sollen in jedem Betrachte enorm gewesen sein" (ibid. 280).

But Lewald's sympathies did not lie with the Puritans, as she shows on visiting the Franciscan church in Stirling:


(ibid. 325f.)

Like Raumer and Carus before her, she was glad to feel the fresh air on her face once more. But Lewald went much further than Carus. She felt truly stifled by Scottish Presbyterianism, which she felt to be life-destroying:

> In solchen kalten leeren Räumen kann nur der Glaube beten, der die Welt als ein Jammerthal, als das Zuchthaus ansieht, in dem die ganze Menschheit die Erbsünde unter lauter martelvollen Entzugungen abzubüssen hat, um zuletzt noch nach dem Tode mit ewig währenden Qualen für augenblickliche Irrtümer bestraft zu werden. Eine wunderbare Art von himmlischer Gerechtigkeit! Es überliefen mich fröstelnde Schauer, als mir in der Kirche das Bild dieser unnatürlichen
She goes on to attack any religion which stems not from reasoned human judgement but from unreasonable belief in the manifestation or revelation of what is most improbable. Some of her contemporaries might of course have attacked Catholicism on just such grounds, but she concludes:

Wo das Urtheil des Verstandes endet, beginnt die Herrschaft unbestimmter Empfindungen und Phantasien, und dem Unverstände, dem Wahnsinn, die eben so leicht einziehen als sie schwer zu vertreiben sind, wird Thür und Thor geöffnet.

(ibid., 327)

The following year, 1851, Rellstab was to be impressed that his German guide should speak with such respect for the Kirk. Hoffmann had, however, evidently learnt to cater for the sentiments of German tourists: pointing out Knox's house (which Rellstab was to compare with that of Melanchthon in Wittenberg), he exclaims, very seriously, "das dort ist das Haus von John Knox, der so Übel für Königin Mary war!" (Rellstab, i, 233). Rellstab was aware of the slant of Hoffman's guided tour, though his interpretation may have been misjudged:

Mein Hoffman erzählte mir viel verworren Historisches von dieser Stelle; allein wie unrichtig auch seine Mittheilungen waren, so ging doch daraus hervor, wie die Geschichte der Königin Mary lebendig selbst in den unteren Classen ist.

(ibid.)

Rellstab seldom concerned himself seriously with the subject of religion. Even during his lengthy eulogy of the ruins of Melrose Abbey he does not touch on their religious significance (ibid., 277ff.), and when he enjoys the company of a minister on a Clyde steamer, his only comment on the latter's profession is that the man was so well-versed in social conduct that, had he been in Germany, he would have been taken for a man of the world rather
than a servant of the Church (ibid., ii, 83f.). On visiting Glasgow Cathedral Rellstab joined several of his compatriots in expressing surprise at the bareness of its interior, the result of "der strenge Ernst des schottischen Cultus" (ibid., 96). Yet he makes no apparent attempt to understand why the church is in this state. On one occasion however, Rellstab does concern himself with religion. Reflecting on the power of the Church of Scotland, he writes that it is vital to distinguish between true learned conviction of belief and fanatical outrage, between men such as Karl Bahrdt and Spinoza. In a verbose and complex paragraph he attacks "die jüngeren Berühmtheiten" (ibid., i, 228), who, through ambition and vanity, misinterpret and ignore the precious legacy of tradition, overlooking the fact that their teachings are far from new, exploiting this,

vom Doktor Bahrdt an, bis zu den genannten Blut-Demokraten unserer Tage, die ohne Schaam und Scheu bekannten, dass die Religion, oder vielmehr ihre abstrakte Verstandes-Abläugnung, ihnen nichts gewesen sei, als der Vorwand zu ihrem politischen Treiben! Und dieses ist für uns wiederum nichts als abermals ein Vorwand, hinter dem sich die skelste Geld-, Ehr-, Herrsch- und Sinnlichkeitsgier kläglich und vergeblich zu verbergen trachtet. (ibid., 228f.)

This tirade tells us less about the church in either Germany or Scotland than it does about Rellstab himself, conservative and suspicious of change. His next sentences tell even more of the rôle of "Reise-Mährchenschreiber" in which he has cast himself; do such comments belong in such a work?, he asks, "sind das die zarten, duftigen, anmuthigen, romantischen oder schauerlich colossalen Bilder aus Schottland, die wir erwarten?" (ibid, 229). Not even Luther could withstand or overcome the forces of superstition and the Devil - his inkpot had been his only weapon.

Wichmann was to see the very fact that the Scots were such a church-going nation as reason enough to attend several services during his stay in Scotland in 1851-2. He was surprised by the number of churches of other denominations than the Established Church. He reported from the Highlands that the ministers would hold services in both English and Gaelic, and that in his view the latter was a rhetorical advantage, "da dieselbe eine gewaltige Kraft und viel Feuer enthält, mit denen ein Redner, der einigermassen diesen Namen verdient, wahrhaft hinreissen muss" (Wichmann, 30). Although the
churches were so well attended, to Wichmann they seemed to be filled with
the well-clad and well-to-do; and, as if in compensation for those who
could not afford to rent a pew, Scotland allowed her preachers to speak
in public. Indeed, anybody who so desired might preach the word of God
where and when he pleased:

Jedenfalls eine eigentümliche Erscheinung. Man denke
sich ein Publikum, wie es die Strassen eben bieten, der
Eine geht, der Andere kommt, der Eine schreit, der
Andere schimpft, und inmitten einen Menschen, der sich
bemüht die Seelen der Umstehenden vor dem Verderben zu
retten.

(ibid. 61)

From Wichmann's own experience this could lead to a mockery:

so konnte man zu jener Zeit jeden Abend in der Highstreet
von Edinburgh in einem Winkel an einer Kirche ein altes
zahnloses Männlein finden, welches Gottes Wort, beim
Schein einer elenden Laterne, auf einem Schemel stehend,
vor einem zum grossen Theil betrunkenen Publikum und
schlechten Weibsbildern vortrug.

Er sang seinen Psalm zum Steinerweichen und schimpfte
in seinen Predigten zuweilen zum Erbarmen.

(ibid.)

A few years later, in 1857, Ullrich gained first-hand experience of
the Scots at prayer. He lodged in Oban with a friendly old couple; after
he had retired to bed he heard them conducting their evening prayers:

Sie schienen einer besonders frommen Sekte
anzugehören. Die Andacht fand in gälischer
Sprache statt und bestand, wenn ich nicht irre,
hauptsächlich in der Recitation von Psalmen,
eine Recitation, die zwischen dem einfachen
Betton und einem näselnden Gesange abwechselte,
zuweilen in ein leidenschaftliches Schluchzen
und Wimmern Überging, und überhaupt einen
wunderlichen Eindruck machte. Leider dauerte die
fromme und laute Andacht eine gute Stunde, so dass
ich erst nach Mitternacht von der Oberfläche der
mich umuogenden Tages-Erinnerungen in die Tiefe
des Schlafes versank.

(Ullrich, 349f.)

It is hard to consider religious Gaelic devotion in a Romantic light when it
prevents one from sleep! On another evening, Ullrich was to look through
the books on the bookshelf in his room, finding that they were old religious
writings in Gaelic. One exception, The Bulwark, was in English, however,
and this he read, soon discovering the "bulwark" to be in defence of Protestantism versus Catholicism. The book was full of detailed and abundantly illustrated descriptions of all the Roman Church's crimes down the ages, including biographies and even portraits of priests, both deceased and living, who were considered especially dangerous. Ullrich concludes:

Die Sprache des Textes malte mit Farben, die bis zur Naivität grell waren; kurz ein Buch, über dessen Existenz in dieser abgelegenen, scheinbar so idyllischen Welt man sich billig verwundern konnte. Nichtsdestoweniger aber auch liess sich aus der so gewaltig aufgetürmten Fortifikation, deren man sich benötigt erachtete, auf die drohende Gefährlichkeit der im stillen selbst gegen diesen Norden gerichteten Unternehmungen des Gegners schliessen. (ibid. 367)

It was this mood of religious fervour, often naively interpreted, stark in its painting of blacks and whites, and coming to a head every week in fanatical Sabbath-keeping, which left the deepest mark on even the most casual foreign visitor. Sabbath-keeping in England and Wales caused inconvenience enough to European travellers, but in Scotland this inconvenience became an unprecedented intrusion, a dampener far worse than the weather.
c) THE SABBATH

Pastor Niemeyer goes on to assure his readers that the British Sunday can after all be an uplifting and restoring experience, if shared with the right people. Few of his compatriots who visited Scotland were to agree with this. Some random comments serve to give a flavour of the overall impressions. Schopenhauer experienced the Scottish Sabbath in 1803, Moscheles in 1828, Hallberg-Broich in 1839 and Fontane in 1858:

Am Sonntag-Morgen werden alle musikalischen Instrumente, alle Bücher, die nicht religiösen Inhalts sind, alle Spielkarten, alle Handarbeiten, auch die unbedeutendsten, sorgfältig weggeschlossen, damit auch selbst ihr Anblick nicht störend werde. Jedermann geht in die Kirche und hält Andachtsübungen zu Hause, wobei die Hausgenossen bis auf die geringsten Bedienten erscheinen müssen. Jede Ergötzung ist hoch verpönt; den Herren bleibt nur die Flasche, bei der sie an diesem Tage noch länger als sonst nach Tische verweilen, und den Damen der Theetisch.

(Schopenhauer, 28lf.)

... die Bigotterie der Sonntagsfeier ist hier erdrückend lästig. Zwei, drei Mal in der Kirche beten, zu Hause wieder beten, oder doch die Hände in den Schoos legen, nicht musiciren, nicht arbeiten, keine Besuche machen, das müssen wir erdulden. Wenigstens darf man doch ganz still in seinem Zimmer, wo Einen Niemand sieht, Briefs schreiben, oder heimlich Bücher weltlichen Inhaltes lesen! Daran muss man sich halten.

(Moscheles, 191)

Morgen ist Sonntag, ich muss gegen meinen Willen hier bleiben, weil kein Postwagen und kein Dampfschiff gehen darf. Alle Bewegung hört auf, die Strassen sind leer, man geht nach der Kirche,
liest zu Haus die Bibel und isst Rostbeef. Das ganze Volk hat nur einen Sinn, die Woche durch zu arbeiten, an Geld zu denken, und freudenlos zu leben und zu sterben. (Hallberg-Broich, 93f.)

"Sonntagsfeier ist gut, aber schottische Sonntagsfeier ist nicht gut und ruinirt das Geschäft" Es interessirte uns höchstlichst, diese Engländer über schottisches Leben genau zu sprechen und aburtheilen zu hören, wie wohl Deutsche zu sprechen pflegen, wenn sie nach England kommen. "Steifheit, Geschäftigkeit, Scheinheiligkeit", waren die Worte, die mehr denn einmal über die Lippen der guten Leute kamen, und besonders der jungen hübschen Frau sah man die Freude an, die sie empfand, sich einmal "ohne Gefahr" in unverhohlener Bitterkeit äussern zu können. (Fontane, 197)

Fontane rarely felt such a sense of innocent complicity with the English as he did in this conversation with the host and hostess of "Mr. Pople's english hotel" in Perth, but in the face of the Scottish Sabbath it seemed natural. "Der völlig unmusikalische Sonntag" (Raumer, 1835, 387), "diese judäisirende Heilighaltung des Sonntags" (Pulszky, 10), "die übertriebene 'Sabbath'-Feier" (Köstlin, 126): such opinions of Scotland's notorious Sabbath were commonly voiced by the Germans.

Some saw the Scottish Sabbath as an exaggerated version of the English Sunday, which in itself greatly contrasted with the German. To Kohl, for instance, the British attitude to Sunday came from the Old Testament, the German from the New:


There is no doubt in Kohl's mind as to which interpretation is right. He goes on to discuss those features of religious life peculiar to Sundays in Britain, namely "Sabbath breaking", the penalties incurred, the attacks on "Sunday visitors" and "Sunday travellers", the closing of all businesses and even railways, the difficulty of finding a guide in Scotland on a Sunday, the reading of exclusively "Sunday books" (the Bible, Prayer Book and Tracts), the cold and preprepared Sunday dinner in many families, where the Sunday
papers may lie unread until Monday morning. What a contrast to the
celebration of a German Sunday, where the key words are "Sonntagsfeier",
"Sonntagspartieen", "Sonntags-Freuden" and even "Sonntags-Kinder" (ibid.,
492): 19 Such a day of sobriety may suit the rich and privileged, but
the workers and labourers surely need a day of light and happiness, such
as on the Continental religious festivals. Prohibition must surely
encourage law-breaking, especially where alcohol is concerned. Kohl's
questioning of the validity of the British Sabbath lasts some twenty pages.
He remarks wryly that according to the British code all Germans must be seen
as severe Sabbath-breakers!

Others were equally outspoken. Kalckstein, in Edinburgh in 1852,
ten years after Kohl, was to take a Saturday evening stroll through the
streets, reflecting not only the contrast between the dark and dingy streets
and closes in daylight and their bright illumination at night, but also on
the contrast between Saturday night and Sunday morning:

Es war ein Sonnabend und dieser Tag ist es vorzugsweise,
an welchem die City wie in einem Flammenmeer einer
wahrhaft feenhaften Beleuchtung wiederstrahlit. Mit
solcher schneidenden Ironie auf menschliches Elend
beschliesst die arme Bevölkerung die letzten Stunden
ihrer mühevollen Wochenarbeit, um mit dem aufdämmernden
Morgen der ersehnten Sonntagsruhe theilhaft zu werden,
deren erhebende Feier auch von den ärmlsten und
verlassendsten des britischen Volks als eine Anregung
zur Kräftigung der Seele gegen die entsättlichenden
Einflüsse der Armuth und des Mangels begrüsst wird.
(Kalckstein, 206f.)

He goes on to paint a vivid picture of the Saturday night street scene in
the Cowgate, where gin drinkers, penny hawkers, discordant barrel organs
and prostitutes serve to disprove, or at least defy, all that the coming
Sabbath will proclaim.

Three aspects of the Scottish Sabbath cause frequent comment from the
German visitors; firstly, the promenading church-goers in the streets of
fashionable Glasgow; secondly, the unreasonable disapproval with which even
harmless activities such as whistling are frowned upon, and thirdly, the
inconvenience of the stand-still on the road-, rail- and waterways. In
the early 1820's both Meidinger and Lowenthal were struck by the Glaswegians'
Sunday behaviour. Of Argyll Street Meidinger writes, "An schönen Sonntagen wimmelt es von geputzten Menschen, gleich wie in den Strassen London's" (Meidinger, Reisen, 95), while Löwenthal was to find that a Sunday in Glasgow was not only at odds with his preconception of Scotland, but also with his own personal comforts:

Der Sonntag (Sabbath) und seine Kirchenfeier füllt die Strassen von Glasgow mit einem dichten Gewimmel von Männern und Frauen in Festgewändern, die freilich viel zu luxuriös sind für die Vorhallen der rauen Caledonia, des viel-berühmten Nebel-landes, der Geister- und Heldengefilde Fingal's und Ossian's, an deren Schwelle man sich hier befindet. Die Sabbathfeier duldet es allerdings, dass man sich auf der heissen Strasse ergehe, besehe, bespreche; sie duldet es aber nicht, dass man in den hohen, luftigen und kühlen Kaffeesaale des Tontine-Gebäudes sitze, rede, oder die Zeitung lese. (Löwenthal, 93)

Like Meidinger, some twenty years earlier, Kohl was also to remark on the great contrast between the streets of Glasgow on a Saturday night and the same scene on a Sunday. He saw the contrast as a social one, and this merely served to distance him yet further from an understanding of the Sabbath:


Since the great Dying and Colouring Works in Glasgow were not accessible to strangers, despite the fact (or perhaps due to it!) that they would afford the visitor one of Glasgow's most interesting sights, Kohl resigns himself to their remaining a "secret" to him and continues on his way. "Dazu kam
noch der Sonntag, der noch so vieles Anders für mich mit Secret bedeckte und unzugänglich machte" (ibid., 36). Wise to this, he takes the night train to Edinburgh to avoid another day in a Sabbath-stricken Glasgow. He might well have encountered further difficulties had he not postponed his planned trip into the Highlands, lured by the beauty of the nation’s capital to stay a while in the city. When he eventually returns to Edinburgh after his Highland tour, however, he is bewildered, on looking across at the Old Town from his hotel in the New Town, to find the former, normally well lit, in almost total darkness. His enquiry as to the cause of this receives the answer: "It is a great preaching night to day, sir!" (ibid., ii, 187). No more need be said; everybody is in church and only the tall windows of the churches themselves are illuminated.

There was much that Victor Aimé Huber found praiseworthy in Scottish religious life of the 1820’s, but he, too, drew the line at Sabbath-keeping, "denn etwas tödlich langweiligeres, wie der schottische Sonntag, gibt es schwerlich" (Huber, 854). Like Pulszky, Huber could not help but compare the Scots with the Jewish people; both were unusually money-minded, yet the complete standstill with which they observed their respective Sabbaths prevented even mention of money or business.
Huber had commented on the Scottish insistence on Church attendance, and the following decade Hailbronner was to add to this. It was all too evident to him that sanctimonious religious observance was devoid of spiritual worth. From this point of view he saw much to criticise in a Scotland, where a doctor or lawyer, however skilled, would simply not be consulted if he did not appear in church twice each Sunday, attired in his black dresscoat. In this light, having praised Edinburgh for its beauty, Hailbronner's enthusiasm for the city's moonlit charm was dampened:


(Hailbronner, 336ff.)

Neither Hailbronner nor his companion, Pulszky, could identify with Scottish Sabbath observance. They themselves might not have gone so far as to call the religious practice they encountered "most abominable", but Pulszky made his opinion quite clear with the use of the word "lächerlich" (Pulszky, 8).

Kohl was to find Sabbath-keeping in the Highlands even more extreme than in Edinburgh and Glasgow. When, on a Saturday, he called on the schoolmaster and minister in Killin, both warned him against violation of the Sabbath. The minister advised him that he would find neither guide nor travellers on the roads, while the schoolmaster welcomed him with the words: "Treten Sie nur immer herein. Aber ich muss bemerken, dass es heute der Vorabend des Sabbaths ist, und dass ich Sie daher bitten muss, mit mir nur über ernste Dinge zu reden" (Kohl, ii, 74). As a result of this admonition,
Kohl did not stay long and found his evening in Killin to be greatly lacking in entertainment. Next day he did however eventually find a guide. After a long walk they approached the inn at Lochearnhead:

Ich weiss nicht, ob es dieser heitere Anblick oder sonst ein Einfall war, der mich pfeifen machte. Kurz ich fing an, ein wenig für mich zu pfeifen. "Hört auf mit Pfeifen, Herr", sagte mir mein Führer, "for they will be wondering, to hear a person chwistling (schott. Pronunciation) at a sabbath day!"

Kohl evidently felt no compunction in demanding that he next be shown Rob-Roy's grave. There was a service in progress in the church at Balquhidder and the guide had to struggle hard with his conscience before agreeing to enter the churchyard. He made a point of hiding Kohl's baggage behind a stone, so he should not be seen with a burden on the Sabbath, and only then did he consent to slink stealthily inside.

Robert Chambers was prepared to take his guests on a Sunday drive in 1850, but he would go no further. Commenting on the strict Sabbath observance, Lewald relates an incident which adds a personal touch:

Auf der Strasse sich ein Liedchen zu pfeifen, gilt für so ungesetzlich, dass man Jemand dafür arretiren würde; aber ich habe heute selbst zugesehen, wie ein Konstabler in liebevoller Vorsorge die ganze Davidstreat entlang hinter einem Betrunkenen hängend, den er ruhig taumeln und für sich sprechen liess, immer auf den ersten Excess wartend, um sich dann des Sonntagsschänders augenblicklich zu bemächtigen.

Imposed Sunday peace was less annoying to Lewald than to others, since she was able to enjoy private hospitality on a Sunday, both from the Chambers and from the astronomer royal, Professor Smyth. Perhaps because of this she could concentrate on a different aspect of an Edinburgh Sunday:

Auch hier herrscht also dieselbe Stille wie in London, und nur die verschiedenen Kirchenglocken, und dann wieder die Frühstücks- und Mittags-Glocken aus den benachbarten Häusern klingen durch die Luft. Die Regelmässigkeit, mit der diese Speisesignale rundumher gegeben werden, macht mir täglich Vergnügen; besonders ein gewaltiger Tamtam, der mit seinem fremden Schalles sich immer auf den Glockenschlag der
It transpires that the foreign-sounding bell belonged to a man who had spent many years in India.

Sabbath travel restrictions were most obviously inconvenient to tourists, especially in the 1850's in the days of rapid steam travel. Even at the beginning of the century Johanna Schopenhauer had described how her host pulled the blinds of his carriage as they drove through Edinburgh, so that devout church-goers would not be offended by their pleasure outing (Schopenhauer, 281). The offence committed by the King of Saxony's party was seen by some to be considerable, for the royal group chose Sunday as the day on which to embark for their return journey. Presumably in an effort to allay criticism, the King did at least attend mass before leaving. Carus comments:

Es war uns nicht entgangen, dass die Abreise am Sonntage, in den Augen dieser, mit äusserster puritanischer Strenge den Sonntag ehrenden Schotten, missfällig vernommen wurde; man hatte sich sogar erlaubt in ein Sonnabend-Zeitungsblatt eine Annonce darüber einzurücken*), und es wäre widerwartig genug gewesen, wenn irgend eine öffentliche Demonstration dieses sehr reizbaren Volkes den schönen Eindruck einer so glücklichen Reise am Schlusse gestört hätte. - Die trefflichen Anordnungen unseres Gesandten und die stäte Anwesenheit des Lord Morton verhinderte glücklicherweise indess jegliche Unannehmlichkeit.

([footnote]) *) Ein Artikel, verfasst von Hrn. von Gersdorf, wird sie heute zurückweisend beantworten.

(Carus, ii, 318)

A few years later, in 1851, Rellstab took no account of the possibility of Sabbath delays when touring the Trossachs on a Saturday, and was most indignant to discover he would have to spend the following day in the same hotel. At least when it happened to him a second time at Inversnaid, he accepted the outcome (Rellstab, i, 330ff. & ii, 20f.).

Several of the German visitors made use of the Sunday calm to enjoy pleasant walks away from the crowds. Both Köstlin and Brandes snatched the opportunity to climb Arthur's Seat on a Sunday. Brandes then walked on to Portobello, where, to his surprise, he found great signs of bathing activity. The welcome relief was short-lived, however, for the German walked on to Leith:
Hier herrscht wieder feierliche Stille, die Häuser sind geschlossen, und auch kein Hotel und kein Inn ist aufgethan. Hunger und Durst - denn es ist drückende Hitze - mahnen und klopfen, aber hier heisst es: sey ruhig, bellender Magen, bis die Sonne gesunken. Indess bemerke ich einen unterirdischen Keller, schlüpfé hinein und erhasche für einige Pence Birnen und Stachelbeeren, die den nimmer rastenden Magen beschwichtigen. Sodann wandle ich am Hafen umher, über den weit in die See reichenden Steindamm, betrachte die grossen Docks, schaue nach der so ruhig im Forth liegenden weissen Klippe hinüber, betrachte in der Stadt die weissen Sandstein-Häuser, höre in der offen stehenden Kirche eine halbe Predigt an und den wie zu Oben schön tönenden Gesang und wandere langsam auf der Kunststrasse fort und bin so um 6 Uhr Abends wieder in Edinburg.

(Brandes, 63f.)

Brandes was one of the few to make light of the inconvenience of the Scottish Sabbath; his complaints remained light-hearted. Ziegler, on the other hand, seemed to object very little to his experience of the Sabbath in Kirkwall. He was not only impressed with the sermon in St. Magnus Cathedral, but was also welcomed to the evening Sabbath School by the minister, Mr. Paterson. Yet the general impression of Sabbath peace was pervasive: "Ueberall heilige Ruhe. Weder ein Reitpferd noch ein Kahn war für Geld und gute Worte zu haben" (Ziegler, Reise, 209). In 1857, Ullrich, like Kohl before him, discovered that the only solution was to continue one's journey on foot. Rather than remain in the Trossachs, as Rellstab had been forced to do, he defiantly headed for Stirling on his own. His account of the Sabbath reinforces the German opinion:


(Ullrich, 391f.)
The following year Fontane, too, was to be irked by the Sabbath standstill. His opinion of Perth, where he and Lapel were forced to wait out the Sabbath, is accordingly coloured by this feeling of annoyance. Fontane was not so annoyed, however, that he could not appreciate the humour of the euphemistically named "Saturday" trains, which, because they left London on a Saturday, could not defile the Sabbath; the Saturday train merely "borrows" some of Sunday to make up lost speed: "Nur das Benutzen dieses Zuges, sobald er schottischen Grund und Boden berührt hat, ist natürlich verpönt; doch was wäre Fremden nicht erlaubt!" (Fontane, 196)

Wichmann is the only visitor to give an account of a typical Sunday in a Scottish household. Few of the others had experience of this. From the start Wichmann stresses the contrast between the German and Scottish days: "Es ist Sonntag, in Deutschland ein herrlicher Tag der Erbauung, Erholung und der Freude." (Wichmann, 58), but in Scotland the day proceeds very differently. First the entire household, domestics included, assemble for prayers, seated either at a long table or in a circle. Each takes a bible and a reading follows, after which a psalm is sung and, rising and turning to face their seats, all kneel in prayer, which is normally uttered by the head of the family. The family then assembles for breakfast and, since no Scotsman can eat in company without first saying grace, another prayer is said, and yet another when the meal is over. Then comes church:

Wer nicht durch die äusserste Notwendigkeit verhindert ist, und auch nur das Geringste auf das Urtheil seiner Nebenmenschen giebt, versäumt in Schottland die Kirche gewiss selten. Mit den armen Leuten ist das freilich etwas anderes, die haben eigentlisch gar keine Kirche, denn in den meisten Kirchen sind fast alle Plätze vermietet; jedenfalls erblickt man überall nur anständig gekleidete Personen, unter die sich arme Zerlumpte kaum wagen dürfen.

(ibid, 69)

After a long, often monotonous sermon, all return home. The monotony of the day has but begun:

Hier wird in aller Eile ein kleiner Imbiss zur Stärkung eingenommen; ebenfalls zwischen zwei Gebeten. Darauf eilt Alles wieder zur Kirche. Abermals ein langer Sermon. Hierauf eilt Alles

But that is not all. In Wichmann's opinion, apart from attending church, this is the pattern of every day in every Scottish family. Although there are some Scots of more liberal thinking, they cannot, or dare not, deviate, for fear of both social and personal consequences. Besides this there is never a sound of happiness on a Sunday, no music, no dancing, no theatre, no books or journals without religious content, and not even walks in the fresh air. Wichmann comments wryly: "Anhänger der orthodoxen Secten in Deutschland müssten hier zur Einsicht kommen, dass sie nur erst schwache Anfänger sind" (ibid., 60).

Wichmann may have been over-critical, yet after a whole year of Sunday restraint he obviously felt the restrictions keenly. It is hardly surprising that he should have spent many of his Sundays in Edinburgh with resident German families, although even they had to be careful not to offend the Scots, and no-one ever dared so much as to touch a piano. He concludes:

Einem Fremden, der in einer freien geistigen Luft aufgewachsen ist, ist an einem solchen Tage zu Muthe, als wenn ein schweres Unglück über das Land hereingebrochen sei, es ruht ein unsichtbarer Druck überall, der kaum einen schweren Seufzer aufkommen lässt. (ibid.)
On the one hand Sabbath-keeping was a curiosity worth the visitors' attention, but on the other it cast a dark cloud over their tours. As Fontane was to express it, "Ein Sonntag in Schottland ist für den Reisenden wie ein Gewitter bei einer Landpartie. Man regnet ein, man kann nicht weiter, die gute Laune ist hin" (Fontane, 195).
CONCLUSION

In the foregoing study an attempt has been made to establish that the 19th Century German travel work with Scottish subject-matter merits individual attention as a subdivision of the literary genre of travel literature. As a literary genre, travel literature enjoyed great popularity during the late 18th and 19th Centuries. As a hybrid form, however, it has suffered critical neglect. In the main part of this thesis the published works of some forty writers come under discussion, yet only one of these, Fontane's Jenseit des Tweed, has received more than scant attention from critics down the years, and even then only from the perspective of Fontane's entire literary output. In evaluating these works as travel literature about Scotland, it has been possible to consider them in their true context: they have a clearly defined place in the history of European travel literature, firstly, as part of a relatively new literary tradition in the German language, secondly, in the context of the long established links between Germany and England, and thirdly, as part of the 'discovery' of Scotland.

Scotland was 'discovered' primarily by the poets and artists. The Highland landscape suited the growing appreciation of mountain scenery and the life of the Highland inhabitants could be readily matched to the Romantic ideal. While Gilpin and Wordsworth were teaching how to appreciate the scenery, Ossian's poetry had already established ample cause for romanticising the Highland culture. The impact of Scott's works was unprecedented, however, and Scott must be seen as a major founder of Scotland's tourist industry. Scotland's fame had spread in other ways, too; as a small country, her contribution to science, technology and industry was remarkable. It was natural that the Germans, politically and socially backward, should be attracted to the Scottish advances in the fields of medicine, architecture, education and welfare, as well as to the Scottish history and literature. But the attraction went deeper. Thanks partly to Herder, the Germans appropriated Ossian and upheld Macpherson throughout the controversy; thanks to Schiller, they appropriated Mary Queen of Scots; and thanks to their own lack of a national poet who could discover the romance of a cultural and patriotic heritage,
they appropriated Walter Scott. This German preoccupation with Scottish literature - and in this respect Shakespeare's Macbeth cannot be forgotten - coincided with a huge change in European travel. As travel became possible for an increasing variety of people, there developed a new class of traveller, a new class of reader, and therefore an upsurge in the production of travel literature. It was inevitable that the two trends, the popularity of travel literature and the interest in Scotland, should combine to produce the German travel work with Scottish subject-matter.

The form of the works in question and the origin, age and profession of their authors are very varied. (The latter has been shown in the biographical study which forms the Appendix to this thesis.) Closer study of the texts themselves revealed both similarities and differences. Not all were written with intent to publish, yet those which were not can be readily compared with those which were. In some respects there is no point of comparison between the 1803 medical tour of Joseph Frank and the 1858 literary pilgrimage of Theodor Fontane, or the 1803 tourist account of Johanna Schopenhauer and the geographical record of Northern travels in the 1850's of Alexander Ziegler; yet all can be classed as travel literature and all present a valid account of life in Scotland between 1800 and 1860. Even for those who set out to find the 'romantic' Scotland, the more mundane aspects of Scottish life could not be completely overlooked. Equally, for those who visited Scotland expressly to observe and learn from the Scottish achievements and developments in the fields of science (especially medicine), trade, welfare and religion, an excursion into the Highlands was an added bonus, a 'romantic' interlude. Regardless of the differing motives, the resulting works bear remarkable comparison, displaying a frequent tendency to romanticise the Highlands, their people, history and culture. This can be seen as a direct result of the huge influence of Ossian and Scott on successive generations of German speakers around the turn of the 19th Century.

An understanding of the contemporary use of the word "romantisch" is seen to be vital to interpreting all the works in question, for it was used by systematic and narrative writers alike. As the century progressed the word remained in constant use regarding Scotland, but
its meaning, and therefore the outlook of the travellers, began to change. From the Ossianic concept of wild and grand melancholy and Gilpin's interpretation of the "picturesque", which governed the earlier visitors, there emerged on the one hand a new awareness of Nature and on the other Fontane's understanding of "romantisch", closely linked with his appreciation of Scott's poetic recreation of the past. Despite these differences, the uniformly positive use of the word is an important key to evaluating the German view of Scotland, and more specifically, the Highlands.

As regards the literary form of the works, they follow expected generic patterns. The commercial travellers published systematic accounts in language for the most part dry and factual, while the narrative in the remaining works is influenced to varying degrees by contemporary literary trends. The most successful travel writer is of course the one who can combine acute personal observation with descriptive writing and strike a balance between the personal and the general, the creative and the factual. Where the 'romantic' or 'poetic' interpretation of Scotland is concerned, Fontane can be seen to have achieved this balance above all, but his predecessors should not be overlooked on the strength of this, for they encompassed much in their accounts which Fontane chose to ignore and which is today of considerable socio-historical interest. At the same time Fontane was not above using poetic licence to borrow or invent. Fontane's Scotland was the one to which he had been introduced through Shakespeare, Percy, Scott and Burns; only the application of his detailed acquaintance with this land was new, for many others had visited the literary sites with these authors in mind. But while Fontane expressed less appreciation of the 'non-romantic' Scotland than others (and one thinks here in particular of the painstaking ethnographer and geographer, Johann Georg Kohl), this was undoubtedly deliberate, and he surely spoke for many when he wrote of Scott in his essay of 1871:

Erst Walter Scott war es, der uns die Geschichte, die landschaftlichen Schönheiten, die Sagen und Sitten Schottlands bis zu einem Grade erschloss, dass man behaupten darf, die Schicksale der Stuartprätendenten von 1715 und 1745 zählen zu denbekanntesten und beliebtesten Kapiteln, die die Weltgeschichte aufzuweisen hat. Das liegt nicht in dem Gewicht der Dinge selbst, das
Fontane, however, seemed unaffected by Ossian and one can say that in this he differed from all his predecessors.

While it has generally been considered that the German travel work reached its height as a literary form with the writings of Heine and Pückler-Muskau in the 1820's, the present study shows firstly, that the popularity of the genre carried on throughout the 19th Century, secondly, that writers of considerable talent continued to express themselves in the genre, and thirdly, that their accounts contain much of socio-historical interest which deserves attention. The Germans who visited Scotland from the turn of the 19th Century were not only treading new ground themselves, but were witnessing a time of great change in that country. Their travel works reflect both the literary and the social developments and assist us to place the history of our country in its broader European context.
NOTES TO PART ONE

CHAPTER I: TRAVEL LITERATURE: HISTORY AND FORM

a) The European Literature of Travel

1: Forster's *Reise um die Welt* was published first in English in 1777, as *A Voyage towards the South Pole and round the World*, and then, from 1778-80, as Johann Reinhold Forster's *Reise um die Welt*. His father, Reinhold, was serving as expedition naturalist for Cook's Second Voyage.

2: It was also Otto, the son of the German playwright, August von Kotzebue, who led the Romanzoff Expedition, on which Chamisso served as botanist.


4: See Kirkpatrick, *"The Literature of Travel, 1700-1900"* (The Cambridge History of English Literature, vol. XIV, Part III), 240

5: See Kalb, *Bildungsreise und literarischer Reisebericht* (Nürnberg, 1981), 83ff., on problem of viewing all travel literature as 'literary'.

6: This standard was valid right through to the 18th Century. See Batten, *Pleasurable Instruction. Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature* (Berkeley, 1978), 46: "a travel book should instruct without pedantry and entertain without familiarity".


8: See Howard, chs. 3 & 4, 53ff. & 77ff., on works of Sir John Mandeville and Chaucer.


10: See Trease. It should be noted that tours by merchants and buccaneers were also very popular in the 17th and 18th Centuries.

11: See Kalb, ch.1, 20ff. Also Batten, *Introduction*, 1ff. & ch.1, 9ff., on Addison's Remarks on Several Parts of Italy &c.

3a: See below, pp.25ff. (esp. p.31), regarding use of terms "travel account" and "travel work".
12: The fact that Topham completed his tour in Scotland would seem to be an exception.

13: See Howard, ch. V & Trease, ch. XVII.


15: The word "journeyman" in English implies the itinerant aspect of the worker's existence, a fact ignored by the German "Geselle" or "Handwerksbursche" (when not accompanied by the qualifying "fahrender" or "reisender").

16: Britain, with her Industrial Revolution, was far ahead in this.


21: A Sentimental Journey was translated into German in 1768 by J. J. Bode, as Yoricks empfindsame Reise.


23: See Link, Der Reisebericht als literarische Kunstform von Goethe bis Heine, (Diss. Köln, 1963), 134f., on Sterne's influence on Heine.

24: See Batten, 29f.

25: Sterne, A Sentimental Journey, 34

26: ibid. 34f.

27: Niemeyer, Beobachtungen auf Reisen in und ausser Deutschland (Halle, 1820-24), vol. 1, 4.

b) Travel and Travel Literature in Germany

1) Germany and Travel


30: These foreign interests, especially the German-Danish connexion, did have a positive effect on German travel. The traveller, Carsten Niebuhr, was sponsored by the Danish Government on his travels of 1761-7 (Carsten Niebuhrs Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern, Kopenhagen, 1774); Helfrich Peter Sturz visited England in the Danish royal retinue (Briefe, im Jahre 1768 auf einer Reise durch England und Frankreich im Gefolge des Königs von Dänemark geschrieben; the Prussian Field Marshal, Helmuth Graf von Moltke, whose posthumously published letters include several written on various visits to Britain, began his military career in the Danish army; Graf Friedrich von Stolberg was a Danish subject, as was Dr. Carl Otto, one of the visitors to Scotland under study. On Niebuhr's son, Barthold Georg, and on Sturz, Moltke, Stolberg and Otto, see below.

31: For an account of travel on horseback through these lands, see Daniel Chodowiecki, Die Reise nach Danzig (1773). See below p. 18 and Note 94

32: See Bauer, ch. on "Badefahrten und Badereisen", 134ff.

33: It was not until the growth of the Baltic coastal resorts in the first decades of the 19th Century that the population as a whole had access to cures. In this Germany was far behind Britain. Brighton, reputedly the first seaside resort in the world, was founded in 1710, while the first German "Seebad", Heiligendamm, was founded in 1794, and most of the Baltic spas did not come into being for another twenty years.


35: Franz Posselt, Apodemik oder die Kunst zu reisen (Leipzig, 1795), quoted by Elkar, 55.
36: See Fuss, 14, for description of the "Post" variations, namely the 2 horse "Ordinariopost", the 4 or 6 horse "Extrapost", the 24 hour "Kurierpost" and the quickest, the "Eilpost", which, though it travelled between 10 and 12 km per hour, stopped so often that it covered only about 5 km in an hour. The "Ordinariopost" was also a goods vehicle, averaging 7 1/2 km a day, and even though there were no changes with the "Eilpost", the journey was guaranteed uncomfortable and so dangerous that women would often travel in disguise. See Beck, 234ff. & Schadendorf, 47ff. Also Ludwig Börne, Monographie der deutschen Postschnecke, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Mollusken und Testaceen (1821) and Greeven, 161 & Bauer, 140ff. on Lichtenberg's attack on the German "Postschnecke" as compared with the English.

37: See Beck, 234f. In the 1750's the journey from Dresden to Leipzig took two days, while by 1838 it had been reduced to 10 hours.

38: The impact of the cholera epidemic in Europe, between 1829 and 1837, also restricted travel.

39: See Beck, 50, who cites 12 borders between Hamburg and Vienna alone.

40: See Trease, ch. XVII, "The End of the Tour". Rail travel had come to Austria in 1828, though Switzerland, like Germany, was behind in this. Maximilian von Löwenthal, who was among the visitors to Scotland, was to play an important part in the development of the Austrian, and eventually European, communications system. Likewise, Moltke was later to become a keen promoter of the Prussian railways.

41: Greeven, 168ff.

42: John Murray III published Mariana Starke's Travels on the Continent in 1820, while the first "Red Book", Handbook to Holland, Belgium and the Rhine, was published ten years later. Seedecker had already published a "Führer für Koblenz" in 1829 and in 1836 Professor Klein's Rheinreise von Mainz bis Köln. Handbuch für Schnellreisende.


44: see Fuss, ch. IV, "Von Cook bis heute"

45: see Erler, Streifzüge und Wanderungen. Reisebilder von Gerstäcker bis Fontane (Rostock, 1978), 439 & 443

46: Greeven, 169

ii) German Travel Literature

47: Beck, "Vorwort", 9

48: See St. John, The Lives of Celebrated Travellers (New York, 1883), vol. 1 on the Westphalian Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716), who travelled to Japan and Siam, and vol.3 on the Friesian-born
Carsten Niebuhr (1733-1815), who travelled to Egypt, India and the Orient, and the Swiss explorer, Johann Ludwig Burkhardt (1784-1817), who also toured the Orient.

It was one of the travellers under discussion in this study, Alexander Ziegler, who wrote the biography of Behaim (c.1459-1506)

49: 2nd ed. 1776. Translated into English 1756-7. See Batten, 83 & Elkar, 76. Nigg, 29ff., sees the turning point of the "Reiseautobiographie" to be Meister Dietz' Mein Lebenslauf (c.1735).


52: See Bauer, "Badefahrten und Badereisen", 52ff.

53: e.g. in the travel works of Friedrich von Stolberg (Reise in Deutschland, der Schweiz, Italien und Sizilien, 1794), Sophie de la Roche, and even the earlier Insel Felsenburg of Schnabel (1731-43).

54: Fuss, 15

55: see Elkar, 55ff.

56: ibid., 51.


58: The popularity of Italian and Greek tours was to continue long into the 19th Century, producing, in Erler's words, a "Flut der unkritisch-enthousiasmierten Italien- und Griechenland Literatur" (Erler, Streifzüge und Wanderungen, 450). Such works as Fanny Lewald's Italienisches Bilderbuch, and the Ein Jahr in Italien and Herbstmonate in Italien of her husband, Adolf Stahr, were to continue the tradition set by Seume, Moritz and Goethe.

59: A journey (from Dresden) which took him three weeks to complete - an indication in itself of the problems of travel.

60: Schadendorf, 46

61: See Beck, "Die Entdeckung der Alpen", 218ff. Also Bauer, 118ff., "Die Entdeckung der Berge".

62: His exclamation, uttered in Tirol in the year of his death, 1768, "Welch eine entsetzlich schaurige Landschaft!", has been frequently quoted in this respect.

63: "Die Alpen" was published in 1729. By the year of Haller's death, in 1777, it had enjoyed 30 editions. Parks, 26ff., minimises Haller's influence on the growth of a romantic feeling for nature in travel literature, pointing instead to James Thomson and Rousseau.
It is significant that it was Fuseli's British teacher, Reynolds, who persuaded his pupil to carry out such Alpine and Italian studies.

Both Friedrich Stolberg and Lavater later published accounts of further journeys (see above note 53 & Johann Caspar Lavater, Reise nach Kopenhagen im Sommer 1793, 1794).

See Link, 97f. Also Fontane's essay on Italianische Reise (Fontane, Sämtliche Werke, Nymphenburg, München, 1959ff., vol. XXI/2, 112-114): "Wer das Buch in die Hand nimmt, um über italienisches Volk und Leben, namentlich aber über italienische Kunst Aufschlüsse zu erhalten, wird es enttäuscht fortlegen"; further, "Es ist ein herrliches Buch für den, der Italien kennt und Goethe liebt. Wer freilich diese beiden Vorzüge entbehrt, dem ist die Lektüre nicht allzu sehr anzuraten". The opinion expressed in the latter statement in particular could be seen as a useful precedent by which to judge any travel work.

Published posthumously in 1846. The Ossian essay, published in Von Deutscher Art und Kunst in 1774, must surely have been influenced by the voyage. cf. Herder's own comments to that effect in the essay (Reclam Edition, 17ff.). See Erler, Wanderschaften und Schicksale, 364f., on Herder and travel literature, in particular on his comments in 'Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit' (1774) and in 'Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität' (1797), on the role of travel literature as part of the humanist Aufklärung tradition. "Herder ging es speziell um die volkerverbindende Aufgabe der Reisebeschreibungen". See also Stewart, Die Reisebeschreibung und ihre Theorien im Deutschland des 18. Jahrhunderts (Bonn, 1978), 4.23, 225ff., "Die Entwicklung einer pädagogischen Theorie der Reisebeschreibung: J. G. Herder".

Lessing's mind was doubtless with his bride of the following year, Eva König, left behind in Germany; moreover, his companion, the Duke of Braunschweig's son, lacked inspiration. Lessing's studies of classical art belonged to the previous decade.

See Wuthenow, ch. IV, 207ff., on "Dichterkolonie". Gerstenberg, incidentally, was one of the Ossian doubters.

Reise durch einen Teil Deutschlands, Italiens und Frankreichs in den Jahren 1798 und 1799 (1801-3). See Beck, 271ff. on Arndt and the joys of walking.

Reise eines Deutschen in England (1783) and Reise eines Deutschen in Italien (3 Vols, 1792-3)


See Elkar, 55

Oertel, 7. An indication of the abundance of travel literature in the last 25 years of the 18th Century is to be found in Erler's collection, Wanderschaften und Schicksale.
75: Schadendorf, 44ff., cites travel works of up to 45 volumes. Elkar, 63, points out that far fewer travel guides were published at the turn of the 19th Century.

76: Horace, Ars Poetica, lines 333-4 & 343-4, "Poets aim at giving either profit or delight, or at combining the giving of pleasure with some useful precepts for life", and "The man who has managed to blend profit with delight wins everyone's approbation, for he gives his reader pleasure at the same time as he instructs him" (transl. by T. S. Dorsch, Penguin Classics, Classical Literary Criticism, 1965, 90ff.). See Batten, 24ff., "Utile Dulce".

77: Elkar, 60.

78: Knigge's work was published under the pseudonym Johann Melchior Spiessglas in 1795. The author describes himself as "hochfürstlicher Cammerjäger und Titular-Ratzenfänger in Peina". Knigge was greatly influenced by Sterne and wrote three travel novels modelled on Sterne.


80: Georg Friedrich Rebmann (1768-1824), Kosmopolitische Wanderungen durch einen Theil Deutschlands (1793). Like Knigge, Rebmann made full use of satire (Hans Kiekindiewelts Reisen in alle vier Welttheile, 1795). See Erler, Wanderschaften und Schicksäb, on Knigge, Rebmann and Forster - also on Moritz, Seume, Nicolai, Arndt and Chamise.

81: Stewart, ch. 3, 101ff., "Der Begriff der 'inneren Authentizität'".

82: Beck, 218.

83: Elsasser, 11.


85: See Elkar, 57.

86: See Bauer, 146ff., "Dichter auf Reisen", in which he deals with the travels of Schiller, Goethe, Kleist, Jean Paul, Grillparzer, the Romantics, Hölderlin, Heine, Seume and Fontane.

87: 3 vols, 1803. Also Mein Sommer im Jahre 1805 (1806), which describes Seume's travels through Russia and Scandinavia.

88: Laermann points out that, despite changes, travellers still moved more or less within their own class, even Seume on his pedestrian tour.

89: Beck, 218.
See Kalb, *Bildungsreise und literarischer Reisebericht* (Nürnberg, 1961), 137ff., on the same phenomenon in English Romanticism.

91: See Bauer, 154, on travels of Schlegel brothers, Tieck, Novalis, Arnim, Brentano and Görres. Hölderlin, at the age of 18, in 1788, had made a Rhine journey, but his taste was not for the typically Romantic landscape; instead he felt at ease in the wide plains and open spaces.

92: Chamisso did of course publish an account of these travels later in *Reise um die Welt* (Written 1834-5, published, 1836). In 1821 he had already published *Bemerkungen und Ansichten*, which was incorporated into the later *Reise um die Welt*.


Commonly known as *Die Reise nach Danzig*. See Beck, 190ff.
Johanna Schopenhauer's connection with the Chodowiecki family in Danzig is of interest here. See Appendix p. 7


97: ibid. 362. Chamisso and Humboldt also used the word in the titles of their respective works, *Bemerkungen und Ansichten* and *Ansichten der Natur*.

98: Elkar, 64.

99: Malvida von Meysenburg, *Memoiren einer Idealistin* (1875), and Moritz Hartmann, *Briefe aus Irland* (1851). The exiled Ludwig Kalisch was also in London 1849-50. On travel writings of Kalisch and Hartmann, see Erler, *Streifzüge und Wanderungen*. It was Hartmann who was to accompany Alfred Meissner to Scotland in 1850.

100: Erler, ibid., 435.

101: Link, 189.


105: *Kosmos*, vol. 2, 73, as quoted in Oertel, 12f.

106: Oertel, 53.


108: Quoted ibid. 53.

109: ibid. 74.

110: Wuthenow, 417
111. Oertel, 59, sees Forster as the bridge between the poets and the traditional geographical travel writers.

112: Wuthenow, 419.

113: Stewart, 47. Travel literature enjoyed corresponding popularity in Britain cf. Richard Altick, The English Common Reader (Chicago, 1957); in 1838 travel literature was second only to novels in popularity amongst the English reading public. [Cited in Howard].

114: See Erler, Spaziergänge und Weltfahrten, 402f.

115: See ibid., 397 and Wuthenow, 416ff.

116: Link, 190. On the terminology referred to here, see below, "Towards a Definition of Travel Literature".

117: See Oertel, 83-5, "Anhang II. Übersetzungen in Sammlungen von Reisebeschreibungen", for list of collections of translated travel accounts available in German in addition to the many German works.

118: Stuck, Verzeichnis von alten und neuer Land- und Reisebeschreibungen. Ein Versuch eines Hauptstücke der geographischen Litteratur mit einem vollständigen Register, und einer Vorrede von M. Johann Ernst Fabri (Halle, Parts I-II, 1784-7)

119: ibid. "Vorbericht", iv-v

120: Editor of Fabri's 'Geographisches Magazin' (1783ff.)

121: Stuck, "Vorbericht", vi

122: ibid., viii.

123: See Erler, Spaziergänge und Weltfahrten, 382.

124: Quoted in Erler, Streifzüge und Wanderungen, 436. Gregorovius, himself the author of travel works (e.g. Wanderjahre in Italien), travelled widely, upholding the German tradition by residing in Italy for over 20 years.

C) Towards a Definition of Travel Literature

125: See Wuthenow, 12, on problem of definition.

126: Batten, 4.

127: ibid. 5f. & 8. The similarity to autobiography, also a hybrid form, is very evident here. See Niggl, 26ff. on "Die Tradition der Reisebeschreibung in der Familienchronik", & 28ff. on "Reiseautobiographie" and the transition, with the introduction of anecdote, to the "Reise- und Abenteuerroman" in the first half of the 18th Century.

128: Batten, 19ff. Batten attacks Adams' approach according to content on the basis of inadequate proof of distinction between fact and fiction, between Adams' three groups, the "true travel account", the "imaginary or extraordinary voyage" and the "travel lie". See above p. 4
129: See Batten, 31ff., "The 18th Century Travel Book as a Literary Genre"
130: ibid. 36
131: Kirkpatrick, 240
132: ibid.
134: Link, 7.
135: One might also comment here that there is no word (in English or German) for a "frequent visitor" as opposed to a "tourist" or "traveller". See Ogilvie, The Tourist Movement, An Economic Study, (London, 1933), 3, for a discussion of the subject.
136: Link, 4
137: ibid., 7
138: ibid.
139: Erler, Streifzüge und Wanderungen, 446
140: ibid., Spaziergänge und Weltfahrten, 402. See above p. 23
141: Wuthenow, 416. cf. ibid., 13, where he explains that his research has been carried out according to "Art, Epoche und Bedeutung", and therefore not according to destination.
142: eg. Johanna Schopenhauer, "Der Bettler von St. Kolumba" and "Margaretha von Schottland" (Both 1836), and Franz Trautmann, "Von Awe, dem See der Klage. Drei schottische Hochlandssagen" (in Traum und Sage, München, 1862).
CHAPTER II: GERMAN TRAVELLERS IN ENGLAND TO 1860


2: Matheson, German Visitors to England 1770-1795 and their impressions (Oxford, 1930)

3: Elsasser, 2


5: ibid. ch. VII, 282-330, "Deutsche Reisende in England im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert". Also on diplomats, see VI.2, 204ff. & IX. 2, 358ff; on students, II.4, 58ff., III.8, 108ff., IV.6, 126ff., V.7, 171ff & VI.7, 227ff; and on soldiers and military men, III.5, 89ff., V.10, 184ff., VI.10, 265ff & IX. 3-4, 359ff.

6: Smith, Foreign Visitors in England and what they have thought of us (London, 1889). The two early visits referred to are the 15th Century visit of von Rozmital and that of 1598 of Hentzner.

7: Bayne-Powell, Travellers in 18th Century England (London, 1951)

8: Lambert, ch. VI, 95ff. Folkerzheimer, a Protestant from Zürich, visited in 1562, and Platter, a medical student, in 1599. See Robson-Scott, "Bibliography", 217

9: See Oertel, 55, on Dr. Jakob Christian Gottlieb Schaeffer; Briefe auf einer Reise durch Frankreich, England, Holland und Italien in den Jahren 1787 und 1788 (Regensburg, 1794) & Canonicus Riem, Reisen durch Deutschland, Frankreich, England und Holland in verschiedener, besonders politischer Hinsicht. In den Jahren 1785 und 1795 (1796)


12: Across the wide political spectrum, from Marx and Engels to Metternich

14: ibid., 3ff. Elsasser points here to the influence in Germany of Milton, Shakespeare and Ossian and also the works of Richardson and Pope. In addition he sees the freethinking Locke, Hume and Shaftesbury as taking over from Voltaire, with only "der unfranzösische Rousseau" (ibid. 4) as a lasting French influence, while Montesquieu's praise of England only turned the Germans' attention more towards Britain. cf. Robson-Scott, ch.II, 135: "by now England had at last been fully 'discovered', and had definitely begun to:take the place of France as the cultural ideal of intelligent Germans and as the country most worth visiting for the serious student of human affairs."


16: See Schaible, chs. I-VI, on political, religious and trading relations between England and Germany from Roman times to the end of the 17th Century.

17: See Bayne-Powell, "Introduction", x

18: Lichtenberg in particular contributed to this link, as a Göttingen professor and tutor to members of the British Royal Family. Robson-Scott notes, 138f., that as a result of the Göttingen and Hanoverian connection, most of the German travellers to Britain during the Aufklärung period were from Lower Saxony.

19: See Elsasser, 9f. Of 360 students in 30 years, 80 were British. Elsasser also mentions the "Hamburgische Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der Manufaktur, Künste und nützlichen Gewerbe", or "Patriotische Gesellschaft", which was cofounded by Büsch and modelled on the London "Society for encouragement of arts, manufactures and commerce".

20: One thinks here of the Anglophile atmosphere in Danzig in which Johanna Schopenhauer was brought up and into which she married See Appendix, pp. 7ff.

21: Schaible, ch.VII, catalogues the Germans in England in the 18th Century under the headings: "Philanthropen; Staatsmänner und Diplomaten; Krieger, Deutsche Lehrer der Kriegswissenschaften an der Royal Military Academy Woolwich; Theologen; Philologen; Literaten; Naturforscher; Aerzte; Maler; Musiker; Vertreter des Handels und der Industrie". Names listed by Schaible and chosen at random give an indication of the variety and prominence of many of the Germans in England: Berchtold, Hardenberg, Stein and Bismarck, Hagedorn and Hamann, Fahrenheit, Herschel and Mesmer, Angelika Kaufmann, Pepusch, Handel, Gluck and Pleyel.
22: Of the prominent German theologians to visit England at this time, the "freethinker", Karl Friedrich Behrdt, was in England in the late 1770's, publishing his Reise nach London in 1790-1, as part 3 of Geschichte seines Lebens. On Behrdt's autobiography, see Niggl, 141ff.

23: Elsasser, 27


25: Elsasser, 10

26: See Robson-Scott, 135: "Nothing is more remarkable in the travel journals of this time than the intimate knowledge of Shakespeare and of English literature generally which they presuppose in their readers". Robson-Scott, 136f, goes on to write of the increasing knowledge of the English language amongst the travellers, which, from the middle of the century, naturally resulted in a raising of the standard of travel literature. Elsasser, 3, writes of the influence of Shakespeare, Milton, Ossian, Richardson and Pope. To this list one can add the names of Defoe, Sterne, Addison and Smollett.


28: ibid., 6ff.

29: ibid., 5ff.

30: Lambert, 99ff.

31: See Robson-Scott, 81-3

32: See Robson-Scott, Part 1, on German travels in England from 1400 to the turn of the 18th Century and Muncker, 20ff., on Germans in Britain in 17th Century. Haacke first visited England from 1625-6 to study in Oxford and Cambridge, but returned in 1629 for good. Weckherlin had spent three years in England during the early years of the century, before marrying an Englishwoman in 1616 and settling in England in 1620. For many years he held the post of 'Secretary for Foreign Tongues', though for a period he was replaced in this office by Milton.

33: With reference to travel literature, Johann Timotheus Hermes' successful novel, Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen (1769-73), can be pointed to here as one of many works influenced by Richardson.

34: see Muncker, 37

35: see ibid., 39ff. & Robson-Scott, 117ff. on Muralt and Voltaire.

36: Muncker, 42ff.

37: see ibid., 44ff.
38: These were also the years which Montesquieu spent in England.
39: Muncker, 51
40: ibid., 62.
41: On this new development, see Robson-Scott, 135ff.
42: Muncker, 69, a view shared by Robson-Scott, 142: "Sturz' Letters are the first example of travel literature on England in the German language which can really lay claim to be 'literature'. Each letter is in fact a masterly little essay in the manner of Addison and his followers - a genre that has never much flourished on the somewhat heavy soil of German literature, and of which to this day Sturz' writings remain one of the few outstanding examples".
43: It was left to Johann Georg Kohl in the next century to attempt a full characterisation of the English as well as the Scots, Welsh and Irish (Land und Leute der britischen Inseln. Beiträge zur Charakteristik Englands und der Engländer, Dresden & Leipzig, 1844), vol. 1, "Nationalitäten".
44: Ausführliche Erklärung der Hogarthischen Kupferstiche (Göttingen, 1794ff.). Before his death in 1799 Lichtenberg had completed five of the fourteen commentaries.
45: See Muncker, 92ff., on English characters and settings in contemporary German literature.
46: By the date of Archenholz' later Annalen der britischen Geschichte (20 Vols, Braunschweig, 1789ff.), his sympathies had moved to France. F. W. V. Schütz' Briefe über London. Ein Gegenstück zu Herrn von Archenholz England und Italien (Hamburg, 1792), set out to give a balanced view of Archenholz' earlier anglophilia.
47: See above, note 24. In 1793 Wendeborn was to publish the account of a journey he made in 1791, Reise durch einige westliche und südliche Provinzen Englands.
48: Moritz' travels were translated into English in 1795. cf. Elsasser, 47-50, on two works which were a direct result of the immense popularity of Moritz: Johann Gabriel Bernhard Büschel, Neue Reise eines Deutschen nach und in England im Jahre 1783, ein Pendant zu des Herrn Professor Moritz Reisen (Berlin, 1784) & Pastor Lehzen, Anmerkungen und Erinnerungen über Herrn Professor Moritzens Briefe aus England (Göttingen, 1785). See also Robson-Scott on Büschel.
Published Berlin, 1791-4

The fact that Forster died in 1794, leaving the third part of his work, that concerning England, in a fragmentary state, perhaps accounts for some of this bias.

Vincke, Darstellung der inneren Verwaltung Grossbritanniens, written 1808, publ. 1815, with an introduction by Barthold Georg Niebuhr. Elsasser, 119, considers Vincke's work to be "das reifste Werk der Anglomanen". See Robson-Scott, Elsasser, Oertel on Forster, Schaeffer, Riem; Robson-Scott, Elsasser on Watzdorf, Büsch; Elsasser on Brandes, Stein, Gentz, Schön, Vincke.


Beschreibung einer im Sommer 1799 von Hamburg nach und durch England geschehenen Reise (Tübingen, 1800) & Neueste Reise durch England, Schottland und Ireland, hauptsächlich in Bezug auf Produkte, Fabriken, und Handlung (Tübingen, 1807)


Reise durch England und Frankreich an einen jungen Freund in Deutschland (Braunschweig, 1803-4). Campe was in England in 1801. See Elsasser, 108ff., Lambert, 103ff.

Tagebuch einer Reise durch Holland und England von der Verfasserin von Rosalien's Briefe (Offenbach, 1788). See Muncker, Bayne-Powell, Robson-Scott on Sophie de la Roche. Also Sophie in London, translated by Clare Williams (London, 1933). In many respects Sophie de la Roche's visit can be compared with that of Johanna Schopenhauer in 1803.

Muncker, 100

e.g. Dr. Joseph Frank, Reise nach Paris, London und einem grossen Theile des übrigen Englands und Schottlands in Beziehung auf Spitäler, Versorgungshäuser, übrige Armen-Institute, Medizinische Lehranstalten, und Gefängnisse (Wien, 1816); Wilhelm Horn, Reise durch Deutschland, Umgarn, Holland, Italien, Frankreich, Grossbritannien und Irland; in Rücksicht auf medicinische und naturwissenschaftliche Institute, Armenpflege usw (Berlin, 1831-3), & Georg Varrentrapp, Tagebuch einer medizinischen Reise nach England, Holland und Belgien (Frankfurt a.M., 1839).

Esther Lucie Bernhard, née Gad, Briefe während meines Aufenthalts in England und Portugal an einen Freund, (Hamburg, 1802) & Neueste Reise durch England und Portugal in Briefen an einen Freund (Hamburg, 1803); Carl Gottlieb Horstig, Reise nach Frankreich, England und Holland zu Anfang des Jahres 1803 (Berlin, 1806).

England im Jahre 1835 (Leipzig, 1836) & England im Jahre 1841 (Leipzig, 1842)
The edition referred to here is Heinrich Heine's Sämtliche Werke in zwölf Bänden (Cotta, Stuttgart) Vol. 6, Reisebilder II: Englische Fragmenten.


"Vorwort zur ersten Auflage", 211
Muncker, 161f.
ibid., 162
Gustav von Heeringen, Ein Ausflug nach England, (Gotha, 1841). Heeringen arrived in London in January 1840, having previously visited in 1836. Even though he travelled no further than Windsor, his narrative conversational style enabled him to produce a work of 350 pages.
Victor Aimé Huber, Reisebriefe aus Belgien, Frankreich und England im Sommer 1854, (Hamburg, 1855). Huber, too, who visited Scotland as a student in the 1820's, had been in London on a previous occasion in 1847.
ibid., vol. 1, "Vorwort"
Denkwürdige Erinnerungen aus einer vierjährigen Reise durch Süddeutschland, Holland und England nach den Freistaaten des mittleren Südamerika, (Wolfenbüttel, 1844)
Published Erfurt, n.d.
publ. Basel, 1842
publ. Leipzig, 1828
Reisen in England und Wales (Dresden u. Leipzig, 1844), "Vorrede", iii
ibid., v
ibid., vi
publ. Dresden & Leipzig
Ludovic, ibid., 150f.

82: On Weerth, see Erler Streifzüge und Wanderungen, 327ff, 436ff., & "Nachwort", 379ff.

83: eg. Julius Rodenberg, Tag und Nacht in London. Ein Skizzenbuch zur Weltausstellung (Berlin, 3rd. edn, 1862). Rodenberg was also one of those for whom, like Pückler, the attraction of Ireland was great; his Die Insel der Heiligen. Eine Pilgerfahrt durch Irland (Berlin, 1860), describes an Irish tour of the summer of 1858.
CHAPTER III: SCOTLAND AS A TOURIST GOAL

a) Scotland - the first Tours

1: See Cooper, Road to the Isles. Travellers in the Hebrides 1770-1914 (London, 1979) Etzrodt, Schottlandreisen im 18. Jahrhundert. Wie der Engländer die Hochlande sah (Berlin, 1939); Holloway/Errington, The Discovery of Scotland. The Appreciation of Scottish Scenery through Two Centuries of Painting (National Gallery of Scotland, 1978); Hume Brown, Early Travellers in Scotland (1891); Lindsay, The Discovery of Scotland (London, 1964). It should be noted that in her work, The Discovery of Britain. The English Tourists 1540 to 1840, Esther Moir does not include Scotland.


3: Martin, tour c. 1695, publ. 1703. cf. also A Voyage to St. Kilda 1697.

4: Vol. 3 of Defoe's Tour (1st of 11 edns. publ. 1724-6) concerned Scotland. See Lindsay, ch. IX, "A Spy Amongst Us", 82ff.


6: MacCulloch, A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland, including the Isle of Man, comprising an Account of their Geological Structure, with remarks on their Agriculture, Scenery and Antiquities (London, 2 vols., 1819) and The Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland containing descriptions of their scenery and antiquities, with an account of the political history and ancient manners, and of the origin, language, agriculture, economy, music, present condition of the people, etc., etc. founded on a series of annual journeys between the years 1811 and 1821, and forming a universal guide to that country, in letters to Sir W. Scott Bart (London, 4 vols, 1824).

7: publ. 1791-99. The full title of Sinclair's work reads "... consisting of the Topography, Geology, Landowners, Parochial Registers, Celebrated Characters, Antiquities, Population & Industries of every Parish of Scotland, drawn up from the communications of the ministers of the different parishes" (Continued by Rev. J. Gordon, Blackwood, 1845)

8: John Knox, A Tour through the Highlands of Scotland, and the Hebride Isles, in 1786 (London, 1787)
Gray had toured the Alps with Walpole in 1741-3. See Etzrodt, 33ff., on Gray.


Gilpin, Observations on Several Parts of Great Britain, particularly the Highlands of Scotland, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty made in the year 1776 (London, 1789). Further, Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty, on Picturesque Travel, and on Sketching Landscape (London, 1791)


Another woman with a great feeling for Nature who deserves mention is Anne Grant, author of Letters from the Mountains 1773-1807 and Superstitions of the Highlanders (1811). As wife of the minister of Laggan and being Glasgow-born, she was hardly a visitor, however, although she had spent ten years of her childhood in America.

Grose had visited Scotland in 1788, 1789 and 1790. See Holloway/Errington, ch. 6, "Landscape of Fact and Fancy", 57ff.

The Traveller's Guide through Scotland and its Islands, with accurate maps etc. (Edinburgh, 1798) — by 1828 this work of nearly 600 pages had enjoyed nine editions; and Forsyth's Beauties of Scotland, publ. Edinburgh 1805-8

The lengthy text was written by Richard Ayton


See also Holloway/Errington, chs. 7 & 8, "Provindal and Border Antiquities", 71ff.


James Hogg, "A Journey Through the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, in the Months of July and August 1802, in a Series of Letters to Walter Scott, Esq."; "A Tour in the Highlands in 1803"; "A Journey Through the Highlands and Western Isles, in the summer of 1804, in a Series of Letters to a Friend". The three accounts were published in 'The Scots Magazine'

eg. the 'Wordsworthian' John Bristed's Pedestrian Tour Through the Highlands (1801). On pedestrian tours, see Etzrodt, ch. IV, 70ff.

Gradually the beneficial nature of fresh air and exercise was being recognised for its own sake. cf. the publication in 1831 of Dr. James Johnson's Change of Air or the diary of a philosopher in Pursuit of Health and Recreation illustrating the beneficial influence of bodily exercise, change of scene, pure air and temporary relaxation as antidotes to the wear and tear of education and avocation. By James Johnson MD, physician extraordinary to the King (London, 1831). Also The Recess of Autumnal Relaxation in the Highlands and Lowlands (1834). Hill-walking and mountaineering were a natural development. See Cooper, 65ff., on Johnson in Scotland


21: eg. Lumden & Son's Steam-Boat Companion or Stranger's Guide to the Western Isles and Highlands (1820) & Account of the principal pleasure tours in Scotland. With a copious itinerary of the great lines of road and the several cross roads in the country, illustrated with folding maps and engraved views. (2nd edn, 1821; 4th edn, 1827). See Cooper, 57ff., on guides mentioned above.

22: Anderson, *Guide to the Highlands and Islands* (1830). The 1830's was also the decade in which Murray published the first Handbook for Travellers (1836) and in which the first of Bradshaw's Railway Guides was printed (1839). Catherine Sinclair was also touring at this time (Scotland and the Scotch, Edinburgh, 1840 & Shetland and the Shetlanders, Edinburgh, 1840). It might also be noted that a very different observer, Lord Cockburn, was traversing Scotland from 1837-54 as Circuit Judge. For his comments on Anderson's Guide, MacCulloch and the roads in Scotland, see Circuit Journeys (1888, republ. Byway Books, Hawick, 1983), pp. 65, 69 & 84, 73, 76 & 81 and 200 respectively.

23: Chambers' *Traditions of Edinburgh. Anecdotes of People and Places in the Old Town* (Edinburgh, 1824)

24: See Cooper, 77. Ironically, perhaps, the discovery of sulphate of potash in Germany had contributed towards the decline in the demand for kelp.


27: On Cook's Scottish tours, see Fraser Rae, 32ff. The full title of Cook's Scottish handbook displays his appreciation of the interests and requirements of the modern traveller: "Handbook of a Trip to Scotland: including Railway Glances from Leicester, via Manchester, to Fleetwood; Views on the Lancashire Coast and the Lakes of Cumberland; Voyage from Fleetwood to Ardrossan; Trip in the Ayrshire, and Edinburgh and Glasgow Railways; Scottish Scenery, and descriptions of Edinburgh, Glasgow, &c., &c." 350 took part in the first tour, travelling by steamer to Ardrossan and by rail to Glasgow and Edinburgh, receiving a royal welcome in both cities (and being received by William Chambers in Edinburgh).

28: It was not until after the period of study, in 1863, that the Scottish railway managers decided not to recognise the excursion tickets, forcing Cook to relinquish his monopoly over coach, steamboat and rail companies and turn his attention further afield.
The eight types of visitor listed, categories 1 - 4 being those of considerable wealth, are:

1. Those on holiday
2. Businessmen
3. Diplomats
4. Those in transit
5. Seamen
6. Aliens
7. Others & 8. Transmigrants


b) The German View of Scotland

i) To 1800


On Keith see Edith E. Cuthell, The Scottish Friend of Frederic the Great. The Last Earl Marischall (London, 1915)


Cited in Stuck, vol.2, 131, no. 3074, as Zeilleri (Mart.) itinerarium Galliae et Magnae Britanniae, oder Reisbuch durch Frankreich, Gross-Britannien und Schottland (Strassburg, 1634) cf. vol.1, 323, no. 1565, Zeiller's M. itinerarium Magnae Britanniae, oder Reisbeschreibung durch Engelschott- und Irland (Strassb. 1647), a later edition. See also Cox, 79; Robson-Scott, 81ff.

Hume Brown, "Introduction", ix

Cited in Cox, 85 & 87 respectively

See Howard, ch. V, "Travellers and Readers", 104ff., on the "First, Second and Third Medievalisms", 123f. on "The Second Medievalism" and the importance of Ossian and Scott

Robson-Scott, The Literary Background of the Gothic Revival in Germany (Oxford, 1965), 35

ibid. 30

See Kalb, 91ff.

It is interesting to note how Pückler-Muskau's achievements as a landscape gardener were later to turn the tables in focusing all Europe's attention on his parks at Muskau

Robson-Scott, The Literary Background of the Gothic Revival, 39

eg. Johann Georg Eck, Bemerkungen auf einer Reise durch einen Theil Schwedens im Sommer des Jahres 1799 (Leipzig, 1801); Johann Kaspar Lavater, Reise nach Kopenhagen im Sommer 1793 (see above, p.16) & J. Momsen, Tagebuch einer Reise nach dem südlichen Theil von Norwegen im Sommer 1788, ein Manuscript für die Freunde (Hamburg & Kiel, 1789) [Cited in Stawart, 366]
46: Herder und Ossian (Berlin, 1933)
47: W. H. Gerstenberg, 8th letter of Briefe Über Merkwürdigkeiten der Literatur (1766)
49: ibid., 8
50: See James Boyd, Goethe's Knowledge of English Literature (Oxford, 1932), ch. IV, 115ff. on Ossian. [Also ibid., ch. VI, 212ff. on Goethe and Scott & Carlyle; ch. VII 260ff. on Goethe and Burns]
51: See Etzrodt, 39
52: For bibliographical information see Stuck and Engelmann. English works including Scottish travels referred to by Stuck are (vol. 1) by Beeverell, Berkenhout, Brome, Campbell, Childrey, Codiner, Douglas, Drayton, Gordon, Johnson, MacNicol, Leland, Martin, Pennant, Sibbald, Stukeley, Young, Wallace, and (vol. 2), by Anderson, Lithgow, Ray, Sullivan
53: Stuck, vol. 1, 365, no. 1735. The second work is evidently an earlier edition. For 1761 edition, see Cox, vol. 3, 92
54: Stuck, vol. 1, 154, no. 721. Also Engelmann, 905
57: Reise nach der Insel Malta, nebst C. CORDINER'S Alterthümern und malerischen Beschreibung von Nordschottland (Hamburg, 1783). [Cited in Stuck, vol. 1, 358, no. 1687, also no. 226]
59: Stuck, vol. 2, 39, no. 2554. Many travel accounts found publication through the 'Beyträge zur Völker und Länderkunde' (1781-94) of Johann Reinhold Forster and Matthias Christian Sprengel
James Anderson, Account of the Present State of the Hebrides and Western Coasts of Scotland (1785)


Statistische Nachrichten von Schottland aus Beschreibungen der verschiedenen Kirchspielen, die von den Pfarrern mitgetheilt wurden; im Auszug aus dem Engl. übersetzt von J. Ph. Ebeling. [Cited in Engelmann, 905]


Die südlichen Orkney-Inseln; aufgenommen auf zwei Reisen (Landes-Industrie-Comptoir, Weimar, 1827). A reduction of Barry’s map of the Orkneys had also appeared from the same publishers in 1807. [Cited in Engelmann, 721]


"in einem Auszuge", Berlin, 1765-82. [Cited in Stuck, vol. 1, 338-41, no. 1608, 339]


Acknowledged sources: James Anderson, Account of the present state of the Hebrides and Western Coasts of Scotland (1785), 756; William Shaw, Analysis of the Gaelic Language (2nd edn., Glasgow, 1779), 763; Pennant, 763; Armstrong, Map of Berwickshire (1770) & Map of Lothians(1775), 765 & 766; Hugo Arnot, History of Edinburgh (1787), 768;
John Ainslie, map, County of Fife and Kinros, with the rivers Forth and Tay (1775), 775.

72: Leipzig, Caspar Fritsch, 1784

73: Volkmann, J. The Tour through Great Britain is presumably Defoe's and the Modern British Traveller probably The Modern Universal British Traveller (London, 1779), in which the section on Scotland was written by Murray. See Stuck, 363, no. 1723

74: Volkmann, "Vorbericht"

75: See above, ch. II, p. 40 and note 49. Also Elsasser, 39


78: In his Brittische Annalen Archenholz had also commented that the Scots universities surpass the English. See Matheson, 22f.


80: ibid., "Vorrede". In discussing his attitude to Britain he complains of the many Germans who took it upon themselves to write authoritatively about Britain despite minimal first-hand knowledge. They rely on hearsay and preconceptions, but Wendeborn himself was determined not to do this: "Und wenn mir die Gegenstände nicht immer wie andern vorgekommen sind, so beweiset dieses bloß, dass ich mit meinen eigenen Augen gesehen, worüber mich niemand zur Rede stellen wird. Ich war anfanglich gewillt eine kurze Kritik der neueren Schriftsteller beizufügen, die als Ausländer, über England geschrieben haben. Ich fing mit einigen Franzosen und Deutschen an; ich fand aber, bei den allermeisten, gleich Anfangs, so viel zu rügen, dass ich die undankbare Arbeit geschwinde auf die Seite legte".


84: Herder, "Ossian", 12
After 1800

85: Travels in England by a native of France. Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain during the years 1810 & 1811 by a French traveller: with remarks on the country, its arts, literature, and politics, and on the manners and customs of its inhabitants (Edinburgh, 1815)

86: Ibid., "Preface", x-xii


89: publ. as a Scott translation, "frei nach dem Englischen des Walter Scott". cf. Fontane, in his Willibald Alexis essay on Walladmor (Fontane, Sämtliche Werke, XXI/1, 156): "halb eine Nachbildung, halb eine Ironisierung Walter Scotts. ... Was Willibald Alexis dem Leser bot, war Walter-Scottisch, aber durchaus nicht Walter Scott".

90: Herbstreise durch Skandinavien (1828), Wanderungen im Süden (1828), Wiener Bilder (1833), Schattenrisse aus Suddeutschland (1834). Fontane (Sämtliche Werke, XXI/1, 157) considers Herbstreise durch Skandinavien to be the most successful of Alexis' travel writings: "überhaupt aber glänzt er auf diesem Gebiet und gesellt zu der Schärfe der Beobachtung eine Frische und Lebendigkeit der Darstellung, die am besten zeigt, wie wohl ihm unter einem fremden Himmel war".

91: Ochojski, 261

92: Ibid. 268

93: See Boyd & Ochojski, 264ff. cf. many utterances quoted in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Gedenkausgabe der Werke, Briefe und Gespräche, ed. Beutler (Zürich & Stuttgart, 1966), vol. 2. See also ibid. for comments on Burns, Carlyle, 'The Edinburgh Review', Scottish literature and people, the North, Ossian, Macbeth and on "James Macdonell, reisender Schotte in Weimar".

94: Muncker, 97

95: Wilhelm von Humboldt, Gesammelte Schriften (Berlin, 1903), vol.9, 432, Sonnet no. 1106, "Scotia". cf. sonnets nos. 1101 ("Albion") and 1105 ("Hibernia").
CHAPTER IV  THE GERMAN-SPEAKING TRAVELLERS IN SCOTLAND
TO 1800

a) Before 1798

1: Jörg von Ehingen, Historische Beschreibung weilund Herr Georgen
von Ehingen Reizens nach der Ritterschaft vor 150 Jahren in x
verschiedliche Konigreich verbracht (Augsburg, 1600). [Cited in
Cox, vol. 3, 74, also in Mitchell, List of Travels and Tours in
Scotland, 1296 to 1900 (Edinburgh, 1902), 26, no.8 Mitchell and
Hume Brown, "Introduction xf., date the visit as 1455. Robson-
Scott, 4f., refers to the 19th Century edn., Des schwäbischen
Ritter Georgen von Ehingen Reizen nach der Ritterschaft, ed.
Pfeiffer(Suttgart, 1842). See also Lindsay, 18.

2: Die Reisen des Samuel Kiechel, ed. K.D. Hassler (Stuttgart,
1866). See Robson-Scott, 49ff., also Cox, vol.3, 113, who
cites publication date as 1855,

3: Lupold von Wedel, Beschreibung seiner Reisen und Kriegserlebnisse,
ed. Bär, (Stettin, 1895). See Robson-Scott, 41ff. Also Cox, vol.3,
117, who cites an English translation of the same year, 1895, by
Gottfried von Ælow, Journey through England and Scotland in the
years 1584 and 1585 (presumably the edn. which Mitchell refers,
389, no. 35).

4: Studienreise nach den Niederlanden und England in den Jahren
1611-12 (Stuttgart, 1922). See Robson-Scott, 89ff.

Although Mitchell knew of no extant account, Robson-Scott refers
to an English edition of the manuscript in the British Museum.
The account of Prince Otto's visit was published 20 years after
the tour in 1631.

6: Zetzner, Aus dem Leben eines Strassburger Kaufmanns des XVII
und XVIII Jahrhunderts, ed. Reuss (Strauberg, 1913). See
Robson-Scott, 110ff.

7: Sarah Murray, A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties
of Scotland (Byways, 1982) 170f.

b) 1798-1800. Forerunners of the 19th Century travellers -
Barthold Georg Niebuhr and Emilie Harmes.

10: Theodor von Schön, Studienreise eines jungen Staatsmanns in
England am Schlusse des vorigen Jahrhunderts(Berlin, 1891).

11: Lebensnachrichten über Barthold Georg Niebuhr aus Briefen
desselben und aus Erinnerungen einiger seiner nächsten Freunde;
his British visit; ibid. 201ff. the letters from Scotland.
Translated as The Life and Letters of Barthold Georg Niebuhr,
With Essays on his Character and Influence, by the Chevalier
Vol.1, 103ff., ch. IV, "Niebuhr's Journey to England, and
residence in London and Edinburgh, from June 1798, to November,
1799". Scottish letters republished in 'Tait's Edinburgh
Magazine', January, February and April 1845. The latter
publication is referred to in Mitchell, 100, no. 238. See
also Die Briefe Barthold Georg Niebuhrs, ed. Gerhard & Norvin
Niebuhr, 1776-1831, served in first the Danish, then the Prussian, civil services after his return from Edinburgh. After seven years as Ambassador to the Vatican, he returned to Bonn in 1823. His death was brought about largely by his despair over the revolutionary events of 1830. His originality as a Roman historian had brought him renown for over twenty years. On his father, Carsten, see above ch. 1, p.12a note 48.

12: Emilie Harmes (Variously Emilia Harms) was born Emilie von Oppeln in 1755 (or 1757) and died in 1830. During her first unsuccessful marriage to the Freiherr Dr. Friedrich Ludwig von Berlepsch she lived partly in Göttingen and Weimar; it was at this time that she published various writings, including the Sommerstunden (Zürich, 1794), but she was also known for following Jean Paul to Leipzig in 1797 in the hopes of marrying him.

On Harmes, see works as cited in Appendix Bibliography, Brümmer, 38; Hamberger/Meusel, XIII, 104 & XIV, 40; Schmidt, 1830, part 2, no. 248, 601ff.; & NDB, vol.2, 95. Also Gillies, A Hebridean in Goethe's Weimar, esp. 10ff.

13: Caledonia. Von der Verfasserin der Sommerstunden, (3 vols, Hamburg, 1802-3). A 4th vol., which I have not seen, was published in 1804. Harmes is referred to in Mitchell, 103, no. 252


15: See above, p.51

16: Elsasser, 116. In Letter 92 (16th April, 1799, Lebensnachrichten, 232), Niebuhr writes of "die Tyrannie in Frankreich".

17: Lebensnachrichten, vol.1, 238, Letter 96, 4th June, 1799

18: See Elsasser, 114


20: ibid., 182, Letter 61, 27th July, 1798

21: ibid., 174ff., Letter 58, 7th July, 1798

22: ibid., 182, Letter 61


25: ibid., 198, Letter 74, Newcastle, 25th October, 1798

26: ibid., 200

27: ibid., 201 Edinburgh, 27th October, 1798

28: Letters 74-110

29: ibid., Letter 100, 245, Edinburgh, 2nd July, 1799

30: There are many references to the Scott family throughout the letters; the first meeting is described in Letter 76, Edinburgh, 4th November, 1798, 203ff.

31: ibid., 208, Letter 77, Edinburgh, 12th Nov., 1798

32: see Letter 76, 4th Nov., & Letter 92, 23rd April, ibid. 206 & 232f., on both Moorhouse and Lambe
33: ibid., 208, Letter 77, Edinburgh, 12th Nov., 1798
34: ibid., 247, Letter 102, 31st July, 1799
35: ibid., 210, Letter 78, 17th Nov., 1798 & 211, Letter 79, 11th Dec., 1798
36: ibid., 240ff, 246,250, 251ff. & 254 respectively
37: ibid., 201, Letter 75, Edinburgh 31st Oct., 1798
38: see ibid. 201f, 205f., 216f., 220 & 223
39: ibid. 232, Letter 92, 10th April, 1799 & 240, Letter 97, 10th June
41: ibid. 227f., Letter 89
42: ibid. 212, Letter 79, 11th Dec. 1798
43: ibid. 222, Letter 86, 11th Feb. 1799
45: ibid. 224. Niebuhr makes scornful mention of the popularity of English translations of sensationalist German literature, "die übernatürlichen Wunder und Spottbücher" (ibid. 225).
46: ibid. 226, Letter 88, 4th March, 1799
47: ibid. 220, Letter 84, 15th Jan., 1799: "Deutschland als Provinz der Gelehrten wird mir im Auslande lieber; obgleich ich bei jedem Schritt erinnert werde, wie tief wir als Nation schlafen".
49: ibid. 235f., Letter 94, 7th May, 1799
50: ibid. 204, Letter 76, 4th Nov., 1798
51: ibid. 234, Letter 93, 30th April, 1799. Writing of the Chapel, he cannot rise above the comment: "Sie erregte meine Bewunderung. Wer begreift solche Werke aus so barbarischem Zeitalter?"
52: ibid. 231, Letter 91, 9th April, 1799
53: ibid. 218, Letter 83, 8th Jan., 1799
54: ibid. 232, Letter 92, 16th April, 1799
57: ibid. 226, Letter 88, 4th March, 1799
58: ibid.
59: ibid., 203, Letter 75, 31st Oct., 1798
60: It should be noted, however, that the editor of his letters omits Niebuhr's description of Edinburgh on the grounds that fuller information can be found in tours and guidebooks - see editor's footnote to p.135 (Letter 94, 7th May, 1799)
An appraisal of all four volumes of Caledonia is to be found in Gillies, A Hebridean in Goethe's Weimar, 112ff. Gillies reveals that in the last volume Harmes does write both of her residence in Edinburgh and of visits to Macdonald in Anstruther. She also includes a survey of contemporary British women writers.

Cont. Gillies, op.cit., 113, reveals that the letter dated 1798 was in fact Macdonald's description of a trip to Staffa; Harmes herself did not visit the island, but evidently felt an account of it ought to be included.
94: *Vol. 2*, 190-202
95: *ibid.* 261
96: *Vol. 3*, 19 & 37
97: *ibid.* 80f.
98: *ibid.* 123-154
99: *ibid.* 196
100: *ibid.* 236ff
101: *ibid.* 273ff.
102: *ibid.* 274
CHAPTER V: THE GERMAN-SPEAKING TRAVELLERS IN SCOTLAND, 1800 - 1860

a) The Visits and Travel Works

1: Carl Gustav Carus, England und Schottland im Jahre 1844 (Berlin, 1845), ch. LXXIV, 281. [Carus is cited in Mitchell, 150, no. 500]


3: See Elsasser, 80; Muncker, 13 & 15f.


5: Frank, "Vorrede"


7: Schopenhauer, "Vorwort", vi


9: ibid., Notes, "Der Wintergarten. Entstehungsgeschichte", vol. 2, 876, where the work is listed as part of Arnim's library: Ascanius, or the Young Adventurer; Containing an Impartial History of the Rebellion in Scotland, in the Years 1745, 1746. Embellished with beautiful Engravings. Edinburgh: Printed by Oliver & Co., Netherbow, 1802.

10: Die Abenteuer des Prinzen Karl Stuart, footnotes, 393 & 402 respectively

11: ibid. 411f.

12: ibid. 381f.

13: Die Ehenschmiede, "1. Der Empfehlungsbrief", 530

14: See ibid. vol. 2, 876, "Der Wintergarten. Entstehungsgeschichte"

15: "Zeitung für Einsiedler", No. 9, 30th April, 1808, 65-8; published in book form, 1808, as Tröst-Einsamkeit, 79-82

16: Muncker, vol. 1, 143

17: His knowledge of Wales is evident in the "Reisegeschichte", Owen Tudor (1821); (Sämtliche Romane und Erzählungen, vol. 3, 76ff.). Further influence of Britain in Arnim's work can be seen in the Novelle, Mistris Lee, and in the "Verserzählung", "Nelson und Medusa".

18: Nemnich, Beschreibung einer im Sommer 1799 von Hamburg nach und durch England geschehene Reise, "Vorwort".

19: Elsasser, 86

20: Tübingen, 1807. [Cited in Mitchell, 113, no. 295]
21: "geschrieben in den Jahren 1809 bis 1814", (Berlin, 1817)
22: Holzenthal, "Vorrede"
23: Spiker, Reisen durch England, Wales und Schottland im Jahre 1816 (Leipzig, 1818), v ff. [Cited in Mitchell, 121, no. 333]
24: Emil Isensee, Reisen in Schottland, England, Frankreich und Deutschland (Berlin, 1837), 234
28: Meidinger, Reisen, "Vorwort", i - viii
29: ibid. iv
30: ibid.
31: ibid., v
32: ibid., vi
33: Löwenthal, Skizzen aus dem Tagebuche einer Reise durch Frankreich, Grossbritannien und Deutschland (2 vols, Vienna, 1825)
36: Vol. 3, publ. 1832, concerns Great Britain and Ireland.
40: 2 vols, Leipzig, 1836 & Leipzig, 1842 respectively.
41: Raumer refers to the value of Victor Aimé Huber's Die englischen Universitäten, eine Vorarbeit zur englischen Literaturgeschichte (2 vols, 1839-40), in England im Jahre 1841, 244f. Huber's work was translated into English by Newman.
43: ibid. vi.
44: ibid. 326.
45: Pulszky, Meine Zeit, mein Leben (Pressburg & Leipzig, 1880-83), 149.
46: Isensee, 71, footnote.
47: ibid. 10f.
48: Stuttgart & Tübingen, 1837.
49: Hailbronner, iii f.
50: Pulszky, Aus dem Tagebuche eines in Grossbritannien Reisenden Ungarn (Pesth, 1837), 2. Pulszky published the work under the pseudonym, M. Räthkay. [Cited in Mitchell, 143, no. 453]
51: Pulszky, 1.
53: Braunschweig, 1842. To avoid confusion, any reference to the philosopher, Karl Marx, will always include the latter's Christian name.
54: Marx, "Vorwort", iii.
55: ibid. iv f.
56: Kohl, Reisen in Schottland (2 vols, Dresden & Leipzig, 1844) & Carus, op. cit. [Cited in Mitchell, 150, as nos. 499 & 500 respectively]
57: Kohl, "Vorrede", vol. 1. iii.
58: ibid. vi.
62: 'Fliegende Blätter aus dem rauhen Hause zu Horn bei Hamburg. Organ des Centralausschusses für die innere Mission der deutschen evangelischen Kirche', VI. Serie, nos. 23 & 24, Dec., 1849; VII. Serie, nos. 1, 2, 17-19, Jan., Sept. & Oct. 1850. The author's name is not given, but the concluding article is initialled "J. K.".


64: Waagen describes his tour throughout his Treasures of Art in Great Britain. Being an account of the chief collections of Paintings, Drawings, Sculptures, Illuminated MSS. &c. &c. (3 vols, London, 1854) and Lewald relates her tour in England und Schottland. Reisetagebuch (2 vols, Braunschweig, 1851-2). Mitchell, 155, no. 538, cites the 2nd edn. of Lewald's work (Berlin, 1864), which is the edn. used here.


66: Erler, Spaziergänge und Weltfahrten, 394

67: Muncker, vol. 2, 54

68: Ziegler, Meine Reise im Norden (Leipzig, 1860), "Vorwort", v f. Ziegler had already published articles under the title, "Bilder aus Schottland", in the Leipzig 'Illustrierte Zeitung' in 1852 and 1858, parts of which he incorporated verbatim into Meine Reise im Norden.

69: Rollstab (Sommermährchen, vol.1, 269) gives evidence of this when he describes meeting two Berlin friends, Professors Rose and Magnus, in the diningroom of Queen's Hotel in Edinburgh; presumably they, like many others, had travelled on from London and the Exhibition.


71: Förster, "Vorwort", vi f.

72: ibid. viii

73: 3 vols, Darmstadt, 1852. [Cited in Mitchell, 155, no. 539]

74: Erler, Spaziergänge und Weltfahrten, 391

75: Rollstab, vol. 2, 265


78: Kalckstein, "Vorbemerkungen", iii f.

79: ibid. iv f.

80: ibid. v

81: On Moltke's visit, see Gillespie, "Das Englandbild bei Fontane, Moltke und Engels."
82: See Appendix, pp. 175ff., 201 & 204
83: On the publication history of Jenseit des Tweed, and the critics' reception of the work, see Appendix, pp. 179ff. [Fontane is cited in Mitchell, 161, no. 585]
85: ibid., 426
86: Erler, Streifzüge und Wanderungen, 456
87: Published in August Lewald's Journal, 'Europa. Chronik der gebildeten Welt'. 1860/61, no. 16, 509-510
89: See Appendix, p. 205
90: See Friedrich Engel auf Reisen (Berlin, 1966), 255-261, "Reisedaten". Both visits took place in September, the first from 8th-20th Sept., 1859, and the second from 5th until about 21st Sept., 1877
91: See Mitchell. One can cite the following names and publication dates: Kreisler (1862), Winterfeld (1865), Frauenfeld (1865), Andréé (1866), Hübner (1867), Brockhaus (1873), Ripping (1874), Holzendorff (1882), Baumgartner (1884), Hobirk (1885), Werner (1896), Fuchs (1898) & Jaeger (1899). See Bibliography for full titles, p.942f.

b) Generation Links and Personal Connections
92: Löwenthal, vol. 2, 231-4
93: Rellstab, Aus meinem Leben, vol. 2, 135ff. See Appendix p. 142
96: Carus, Autobiographie, vol. 2, 410
97: Pulzsky, Meine Zeit, mein Leben, 147
98: See Heine's "Harzreise", (Werke, vol. 2), 223, where he refers to Marx both as his doctor and as the author of a "Topographie" of Göttingen
99: See Appendix, p. 206

c) Textual Source References
100: eg. by Nemnich, 486, Meissner, 173 & Meidinger (Reisen), 72
101: Nemnich, who very probably did not actually visit the Northern Isles, although he gives an account of them, evidently made good use of George Barry's History of the Orkney Islands (1805).*
102: Pulzsky, Meine Zeit, mein Leben, 149 & 77, and Aus dem Tagebuch eines reisenden Ungarn, 204

* He also drew his readers' attention to Ahlwardt's recently advertised translation of that work (Nemnich, 723).
103: Kohl's Reisen in England

104: See Appendix p. 131. Nürnberg (Der frühe Fontane, 82) comments: "Mit Sicherheit kannte Fontane das weitverbreitete Reisetagebuch aus England und Schottland der Dichterin Fanny Lewald".

105: Niemeyer, Beobachtungen auf Reisen in und ausser Deutschland, 98ff.


108: Wilhelm Pütz, Charakteristiken zur vergleichenden Erd- und Völkerkunde in abgerundeten Gemälden, für Schule und Haus gesammelt und bearbeitet (2 vols, Köln, M. du Mont-Schauberg, 1859-60), vol. 1

109: Goede, A Foreigner's Opinion of England, Englishwomen, English Manners, English Morals ... and a variety of other interesting subjects, including Memorials of Nature and Art. Comprised in a Series of Free Remarks, the result of personal Observation during a Residence of Two Years in Great Britain. Translated from the original German by Thomas Horne (Boston, Wells and Lilly, 1822); Dr. S. H. Spiker, Travels through England, Wales and Scotland in the year 1816. Translated from the German(2 vols, London, Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones, 1820); Friedrich von Raumer, England in 1835, being a series of Letters written to friends in Germany, during a Residence in London and Excursions into the Provinces. Translated from the German by Sarah Austin and H. E. Lloyd (Philadelphia, Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1836); J. G. Kohl, Scotland. Glasgow, the Clyde, Edinburgh; the Forth, Stirling; Drummond Castle, Perth, and Taymouth Castle; the Lakes (London, Chapman & Hall, 1844); Dr. C. G. Carus, The King of Saxony's Journey through England and Scotland in the Year 1844. Translated by S.C. Davison (London, Chapman & Hall, 1846). Other works were translated into French, for example, Hallberg-Broich: L'Angleterre, L'Irlande, et L'Ecosse. Souvenirs d'un voyageur solitaire; ou méditations sur le caractère national des Anglais (2 vols, Paris, 1843).

110: Nemnich, 168ff.

d) Literary Form and Purpose

111: Pulszky, Aus dem Tagebuche, 204


114: Although they contain very little pertaining to Scotland, the autobiographies of Hahn-Hahn and Alfred Meissner can be classed with Köstlin's. On further autobiographies consulted, see Appendix

115: Löwenthal, "Vorwort", vi

116: Meissner, 2

117: Marx, 20f.
NOTES TO PART TWO

The following abbreviations have been used throughout Part Two in citing textual source references:

Kohl : Reisen in Schottland
Kohl, CB : Land und Leute der Britischen Inseln
Köstlin : Eine Autobiographie
Köstlin, Mittheilungen : "Mittheilungen über Schottland"
Meidinger, Briefe : Briefe von einer Reise durch England...
Meidinger, Reisen : Reisen durch Grossbritannien und Irland
Mendelssohn/Klingemann, Hensel : Die Familie Mendelssohn (ed. Hensel)
FMB-KK Briefwechsel : Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdys Briefwechsel mit Legationsrat Karl Klingemann
Nemnich : Neueste Reise durch England, Schottland...
Nemnich, 1799 : Beschreibung einer im Sommer 1799 von Hamburg...
Raumer, 1835 : England im Jahre 1835
Raumer, 1841 : England im Jahre 1841
Waagen : Treasures of Art in Great Britain
Waagen, Galleries and Cabinets : Galleries and Cabinets of Art...
Ziegler, Bilder : "Bilder aus Schottland"
Ziegler, Reise : Meine Reise im Norden

INTRODUCTION

1: Fontane is one of the very few authors under discussion to have received any critical attention. For a review of this secondary literature, see Appendix, B., pp. 179ff.

CHAPTER I : SCOTLAND - THE ROMANCE. HISTORICAL AND POETIC ASSOCIATION

a) "Romantisch" and Scotland

2: It is Carus above all who likes to relate landscape scenes to the paintings of Salvator Rosa or Claude Lorrain. See below, e.g. ch. II, p. 144
5: Reference can be made here to Parks' essay, "The Turn to the Romantic in the Travel Literature of the Eighteenth Century", whose express purpose is "to trace in outline the growth of romantic feeling - or romantic expression of feeling for nature" (op. cit.)
22) in the literature concerned. Although Parks does refer to the connotations of the word "picturesque", as used by Gilpin, and to the contributions of Humboldt and Forster (ibid., 28ff. & 33), he does not provide a definition of "romantic".


7: Brockhaus, Conversations-Lexikon (7. Originalauflage, Leipzig, F.A.Brockhaus, 1830), vol.9, 384-8

8: Jacob & Wilhelm Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1854ff.), vol.8, 1893. Vol.6, referred to below, was publ. 1885.

9: Fontane, Sämtliche Werke (Nymphenburg), XXI/1, 406ff., esp. 418f.

b) Preconceptions of Scotland

10: Fontane was to draw a similar comparison between Scotland and Switzerland in his essay on Scott (ibid., 419)

11: See Gilpin, "On Picturesque Travel", 44-46, where he propounds the theory that "living forms" in a landscape should only be considered for their "use as a picturesque object, till it become too small for attention" (ibid., 45).

12: The hours round noon were generally considered not to be conducive to "romantic travel"; if Rellstab considered 11 a.m. "die prosaischste Stunde des Tages", Fontane saw the hungry hour of 2 p.m. "die unromantischste Stunde von der Welt" (Fontane, 192):

13: Ludovic, Flüchtige Bemerkungen. On Ludovic, see above, Part One, ch.II, p.47

CHAPTER II : NATURE AND LANDSCAPE APPRECIATION

a) Landscape Appreciation and Description

i. General Appreciation

1: See below, chs. X, XI & XII

2: Similar descriptions are to be found in Löwenthal (112f.) and Schinkel (iii, 94)


4: See above, pp.134ff.

5: Similar comments were made by Spiker (Spiker, 239f.)

6: Cited by Wolzogen as Nos. 20-24 in Mappe XII of the Schinkel-Museum (Schinkel, iii, footnotes, 104)

7: ibid., Nos. 19 & 25. In addition Nos. 16, 17 & 18 depict Fingal's Cave and Staffa (cited by Wolzogen, footnotes, 105 & 106)
8: See above, p. 138
9: See above, p. 140
10: On the architectural aspect of the urban landscape of Scotland, see below, ch. VIII

ii. The most commonly described landscapes

11: See e.g. Otto, 350 & Kohl, ii, 126ff.
13: See above, p. 140
14: See also Klingemann (Hensel, 255) & Carus (ii, 202) – as quoted above, ch. I, p. 126
15: See above, p. 152
16: e.g. Meissner, 256
17: See Holloway/Errington, ch. 5, 47ff., "The Falls of Clyde"
19: See below, ch. X, c) i & ii, pp. 641ff.
20: See esp. Kohl, i, 116 & 124ff.; Lewald, ii, 325; Rellstab, i, 313ff.
21: For descriptions of Edinburgh's landscape and setting, see Schopenhauer, 272ff.; Spiker, 194ff.; Otto, 301; Mendelssohn (Hensel), 240ff.; Raumer, 1835, 366ff.; Pulszky, 178ff.; Köstlin, 125ff.; Rellstab, i, 211ff.; Alfred Meissner, 227.
22: See e.g. Otto, 301 & Marx, 14
23: Hallberg was also to find Edinburgh lifeless and empty on his 1839 visit (Hallberg-Broich, 87)
24: The two sketches referred to here are listed as Nos. 12 & 13 in Mappe XII of the Schinkel-Museum (Walzogen's footnote, Schinkel, iii, 94). cf. notes 6 & 7 above
25: Two footnotes, concerning King Otto*and Mary Queen of Scots' death, refer respectively to an article in the 'Allgemeine Zeitung' of 3.2.1837 and to Raumer's Die Küniginnen Elisabeth und Maria Stuart

iii. Fontane and Landscape

26: See below, ch. VII, p. 513
27: On this and other reviews, see Appendix, B., a), pp. 179ff.
28: See Knorr, Fontane und England, 47

iv. Conclusion

29: e.g. Raumer, 1835, 374ff.
b) Wildlife


31: See below, ch. VII, p. 520

32: Audubon's The Birds of America was publ. 1827-38. Lizars of Edinburgh had originally taken on the publication, although it was completed in London.


34: See also Kohl's ten-page account of Edinburgh Zoo (Kohl, ii, 188ff.)

CHAPTER III: TRAVEL AND ACCOMMODATION

a) Travel

i. General Impressions

1: See above, Part One, ch. I, b)i & ch. III, a)

2: He makes similar remarks on pp. 62 & 76

3: The two touring parties, those of the Schopenhauers and the King of Saxony, can be viewed in the same light, but to a lesser extent.

4: Fontane (Sämtliche Werke, XXI/1, 158): "Aber die Fremde tut noch mehr. Sie lehrt uns nicht bloss sehen, sie lehrt uns richtig sehen. Sie gibt uns auch das Mass für die Dinge. Und dies ist, künstlerisch genommen, fast noch wichtiger, als dass sie uns die Dinge überhaupt erschliesst. Sie lehrt uns die Fähigkeit, Gross und Klein zu unterscheiden ..." & ibid., XVIII, 7ff., where Fontane (in 1894 makes the distinction between the "Sommerfrischler" and the "Sommerreisender".

ii. Walking Tours

5: Meissner was to confirm Moritz' findings on his 1817 tour. His attempts at enjoying pedestrian tours in England were utterly spoil't by unfriendly cat-calls and ridiculing and insolent inn-keepers (Meissner, 231f.). Sitting between two umbrellas on the coach to Oxford, he had got soaked and as a result suffered a cold and unwelcoming reception from an Oxford landlady. He concludes that any traveller "der in Frankreich und England gereist ist, ohne durch Anglomanie befangen zu werden" must admit that the English, unlike the French, are not naturally polite; their politeness goes as far only as their code of behaviour demands (ibid., 181). He goes on to write of the popularity of the translation of Moritz' tour in England, even though the people of Oxford insisted that no such man as Mr. Dodd ever existed (ibid., 183f.).

6: See above, ch. II, p. 172f.

iii. Horse-Drawn Transport

7: Isensee was to record that the journey took 47 hours in 1835 (Isensee, 156)
8: In 1835 the coach in which Isensee was travelling from Edinburgh to London did lose a wheel and caused great delay and no little complaint on the part of the German, who bemoaned the tipsy state of the driver, the superfluous number of bolts and screws in the design of the heavy British coaches and the lack of sufficient light by which to mend the charred axle (Isensee, 155ff.).

iv Steam Travel

9: In writing of this stage-coach rivalry and price battle twenty years earlier, in 1817, Meissner had pointed out that the whole thing had been reduced to a joke when one London to Brighton coach company had offered free passage with a bottle of wine (Meissner, 198).

10: Kohl (i, 40) describes the Edinburgh "minibuses" in a footnote as "komische einspännige und zweiräderige Wagen für vier Personen ... Ich möchte gern wissen, woher das sonderbare Wort für diese sonderbaren Wägelchen entstanden ist. Den Engländern, die leicht etwas zu lang finden, ist das Wort noch zu lang, und sie verkürzen es gewöhnlich bloß in 'Bus,' die Sylben 'Mini' weglassend, indem sie z.B. sagen: 'Will you by the bus?' [sic] In Glasgow haben sie ähnliche Wagen, die sie 'noddy' nennen."

b) Accommodation


12: On further accounts from the 1850's of the inns named, see e.g. Wichmann, 36 & 43; Ullrich, 341, 369, 373 & 391.


CHAPTER IV: LIVING CONDITIONS AND CONTEMPORARY AFFAIRS

a) Living Conditions

1: See below, b) p. 289.


4: "Die weisse Frau" = La Dame Blanche (1825), the popular French opera by François Adrien Boieldieu (1775-1834). The libretto, by Eugène Scribe, was based on Scott's "The Lady of the Lake", The Monastery and Guy Mannering.

5: See above, chs. I, II & VI, & VII, 357ff.


b) Contemporary Affairs


8: Fontane, 58ff.

9: The Valleyfield Paper Mill in Penicuik, which was requisitioned by the Government from 1810-14 and fitted up for the reception of 6,000 French prisoners-of-war (Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland, vol. V, ed. Croome).
10: See above, Part One, ch. IV, p.96. On the Royal Visit to Taymouth, see Kohl, ii, 18ff. & Carus, ii, 265

11: cf. also Kohl, ii, 232ff.

12: "Su-therland and Slavery, or the Duchess at Home." Written Jan. 1853. The first article published in English by Marx, it was translated by Engels and appeared first in the 'New York Daily Tribune' of 9.2.1853; an abridged version appeared in 'The People's Paper' of 12.3.1853.

13: The edn. referred to here is Marx Engels Werke (Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1974).


15: From "Das Eland der Philosophie", 6. Bemerkung

16: See above, Part One, ch. V, p.84

17: See below, ch. VI, p.445f.

18: See Lord Cockburn, Circuit Journeys (Byway, 1983), 93: "a long case of fire-raising, by a black-looking fellow called Rosenberg, a Prussian Jew, and his wife, at one time an actress in London."

19: A direct comparison can be made here with Pulszky. Gavazzi (1809-89), who had fled to England in 1849, was to return to Italy in 1860 as chaplain to Garibaldi's Army. Pulszky arrived in Britain in 1849 as Kossuth's ambassador, accompanied the latter on his British lecture tours and ended up in Italy in 1860 as an associate of Garibaldi. See Appendix, pp.67ff. cf. also Fontane's article, "Kossuth in Edinburgh. Ein Sieg - sonst weiter nichts", of Dec. 1856 (Fontane, Sämtliche Werke, XVIIIa, 701f.).

20: See Kohl, GB, i, "Eintritt", 1ff. & "Engländer und Deutsche", 411ff., esp. 421f. & 431

CHAPTER V : PEOPLE AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS

a) The Scottish Character and Physique

1: See above, Part One, ch. II, p.39

2: The majority of the travellers - e.g. Meidinger (Reisen, 90) - go into the subject in much less detail

3: See above, ch. IV, p.296, for his remarks to that effect

4: See above, ibid., p.297

5: See Kohl, ii, 97, for comment on Dr. Johnson's views of second sight

6: John Goodsir, 1814-67, became Professor of Anatomy in Edinburgh two years after Carus' visit, in 1846

7: Dr. James Gregory, 1753-1821, the popular and controversial Professor of Medicine and head of the Edinburgh Medical School
Dr. William Wright, 1735-1819, botanist and surgeon, and at the time of Nemnich's visit, President of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh

Francis, Lord Jeffrey, 1735-1850? & John Murray, d.1820, chemist and physician and lecturer at the University? or perhaps more likely, since the introduction came from Lord Brougham, Sir John Archibald Murray, 1779-1859, the judge, later to succeed Jeffrey as Lord Advocate, and at the time of Nemnich's visit very active both as the liberal M.P. for Leith and in the 'Edinburgh Review' and many Edinburgh societies? See below, ch. X, p.636f.

Sir William Jackson Hooker, 1785-1865, in fact an Englishman and later to become Director of Kew Gardens, but at the time of Otto's visit in the 1820's Regius Professor of Botany at Glasgow University. Hooker was well known in Germany and was made a knight of the town of Hannover in 1836.

Sinclair, 1754-1835, had already earned his reputation as advocate, landowner, agriculturalist and writer on many different subjects by the time of Moscheles' meeting with him in 1828. It is worth noting that the travel works of his daughter, Catherine, 1800-64, whom Waagen was to meet at Hopetoun in 1854, were also well known to German readers. See below, b) p.336

John Barclay, 1758-1826, one of the principal founders of the Dick Veterinary College

James Gregory (see above, note 7) was professor in Edinburgh from 1776 and his father, John, 1724-73, was professor in Aberdeen from 1755 and Edinburgh from 1766

Possibly John Cheyne, 1777-1836, who practised in Dublin from 1809?

John Bell, 1763-1820 and Charles Bell, 1774-1842, perhaps the best known of all the medical Bells, although, as the youngest of five sons, he had scarcely embarked on his career at the time of Frank's visit in 1803, leaving to lecture in London the following year and not returning to Edinburgh as Professor of Surgery until 1836. Benjamin Bell (see above, note 18) was of a different family.

The museum was founded on the collection of Barclay, whom Meissner had met.

Allen Thomson, 1809-84, "the first of the great biological teachers of the 19th Century" (DNB, XIX, 713), was the only son of the physician and surgeon, John Thomson, 1765-1846, who had to curtail his practice due to illness for the first time in the summer of 1835, the year of Isensee's visit.

According to DNB (XIX, 713f.), Allen Thomson was Thomson's only son, but Marx here names two, the older the Professor of
Pathology, whom he met in the hospital, and the younger (presumably Allen), the Physiology lecturer, whom he met at his father's.

24: Sir Robert Christison, toxicologist, 1797-1882, who had become Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in 1822 and who, by the time of Marx's visit, was Professor of Materia Medica.

25: 1799-1870. In 1818 Syme announced the method of waterproofing later to be patented by Macintosh.

26: James David Forbes, 1809-68, who held the chair of Natural Philosophy from 1833.

27: See above, note 6

28: Sir David Brewster, 1781-1868, at the time of Carus' visit, Professor of Mathematics at St. Andrews.

29: Fox Maule, 1801-74, Liberal M.P., later Earl of Dalhousie.

30: That year Brewster had invented and patented the kaleidoscope.

31: 1776-1847, editor of the 'Edinburgh Review', who, two years before, in 1814, had edited the supplement to 6th edn. of the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

32: See below, ch. VIII, p.528f.

33: 1803-55, advocate and historical writer

34: William Thomas Beckford, 1760-1844, writer and collector

35: Lord Cockburn ([Circuit Journeys, 134ff.) describes a visit to Mrs. and Miss Campbell some weeks earlier and reports that the Campbells had in fact been at Kilravock already for 15 years.

36: Chambers, 1802-71, was to give all the profits of his Life and Work of Burns, on which he was working during Lewald's visit and from which he read to her, to this lady, Mrs. Begg, & family.

37: Samuel Halkett, 1814-71, son of a Canongate Brewer, was employed as an apprentice for five years from the age of 14, studying in his spare time. Amongst others, Sir William Hamilton supported him as candidate for the position of Keeper of the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, to which post he was appointed two years before Lewald met him. Halkett contributed several articles to Chambers' Cyclopaedia, but died before the two great works of his life were completed, the first alphabetical Catalogue of Printed Books in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates (publ. 1863-79) and A Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain (publ. 1882-88).

38: 1815-1900. Smyth was Astronomer Royal in Scotland from 1845-88.


40: 1805-61, Chalmers' successor as Principal of the Free Church College from 1847, whose work, The Reformers and the Theology of the Reformation, Köstlin was later to review (Köstlin, footnote, 120)

41: William Hanna, 1808-82, also a churchman

42: Chambers Biographical Dictionary (1897), 618, states that Macleod, 1812-72, was in fact at Dalkeith from 1843-49 only.
Robert Nasmyth. Listed in Medical Directory for Scotland, 1852, 47 & 1856, 54 as residing first at 78 George St., then at 5 Charlotte Square, and as "LRCS Edinburgh, 1811; FRCS 1823, Surg.-Dentist in Ordinary to Her Majesty in Scotland; FRS Edin.; Mem. Med. Chir. & other Soc.s."

Seven years previously, in 1835.

"Der blanke Mohr" and "der gelbe Mulattenkoch" encountered by Mendelssohn and Klingemann are here brought to mind (Mendelssohn, Hensel, 252).

Seven years previously, in 1835.

Viscount Hugh Gough, 1779-1869, famed at the time as conqueror of the Sikhs in the Sikh Wars of 1845 & 1846.

Scott's eldest daughter, Sophia, who ten years previously had moved with her husband, Lockhart, to London and who was to die two years later, in 1837.

c) Dress and Social Customs

i. Dress


I quote from the contemporary English translation by Sarah Austin (see above, note 50).

Jenseit des Tweed, ch. XX, "Der Letzte Hochlands-Häuptling. (Unserem Culloden-Führer nacherzählt)"

Ibid., in the chapters, "Von Oban bis zum Loch Lomond" and "Das schottische Hochland und seine Bewohner", in which some phrases are repeated verbatim (Fontane, 304-7 & 407-8).

Among them Robert Chambers.

The "chlamys" was in fact a dress of ancient Greece, more similar to the plaid than the kilt.


A fact which Förster also remarks on (Förster, 319).

Charles Macintosh, who died near Glasgow in 1843, the year after Kohl's visit, had already patented his method of waterproofing twenty years previously.

d) Recreation and Entertainment

i. Sporting Recreation and Entertainment

For a comparable contemporary account by a native Scot, see
Philo Scotus [Philip Barrington Ainslie], Reminiscences of a Scottish Gentleman (London, 1861), 71ff. The accuracy of Schopenhauer's account can be judged by its similarity to Scotus'.

Kohl states that, where curling is concerned, he had read through the annual report for the year 1842 of the Caledonian Club and in his thoroughness he no doubt did likewise for golf. He also refers to two sporting reference works which he consulted at some length, Blaine's Rural Sports and Tegg's Dictionary of Field Sports.

Kohl's description of the curling match and discussion of "Volks spiele", followed by the references by Köstlin and Wichmann to throwing the stone, can be readily compared with Theodor Storm's depiction of the "Eisboseln" in Der Schimmelreiter.

e.g. The Eglinton Tournament of 1832 in Ayrshire

See Pückler-Muskau, ii, 144ff.

cf. ch. on "Maniery" in vol. 1 of Kohl's Englische Skizzen. See above Part One, ch. V, p.96

"The Monarch of the Glen" was not in fact exhibited until 1851.

See above ch. II, p.183ff.

cf. Lord Cockburn on ladies bathing in Scotland and on Portobello as "the most immodest spot in Scotland" (Circuit Journeys, 109ff.)

See above ch. III, p.241

ii. Social Entertainment, Music and Theatre

See below ch. XI, pp.709ff.

Lady John Scott, 1811-1900, famous above all as the author of "Annie Laurie"

cf. the account by the Frenchman, Amédée Pichot, of an 1825 performance of Rob Roy, in which Mrs. Henry Siddons performed beside her brother, William Murray (Pichot, Historical and Literary Tour, ii, 334ff.). Also Elizabeth Grant's memories of the theatre, first under Henry Siddons, when many of the Kembles acted for him, then under William Murray (Grant, Memoirs of a Highland Lady (11th edn., London, 1978), 248ff.).

See below ch. X, p.628

An opinion supported by the German-born author of Modern Athens (London, 1829), who had spent time in Edinburgh in 1810 & 1811


See above, p.327

See Pulszky, Meine Zeit, mein Leben, 173, for remarks to that effect.

See above, p.394

See above note 38
CHAPTER VI: PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

a) Medical and Penal

1: Dr. Diaphoirus in Le Malade Imaginaire

2: Alexander Monro "primus", 1697-1767, one of the founders of the Infirmary; his son, Alexander "secundus", 1733-1817; and his son, Alexander "tertius", 1773-1859, referred to by Meissner

3: See above ch. V, note 14

4: The geologist, Robert Jameson, 1772-1854, & Andrew Duncan, 1773-1832, who, like his father, Andrew, 1744-1828, was Professor of Medicine in Edinburgh

5: "Gregory's Mixture" (or Powder)

6: William Gregory, 1803-58, James' son and later Professor of Chemistry in Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh & John Lizards, 1787-1860, Edinburgh surgeon

7: Robert Liston, 1794-1847, who lectured in Edinburgh from 1818-35

8: Marx does, however, pay tribute to Christison's skill as a toxicologist (Marx, 24)

9: See above ch. V, notes 19, 26, 25, 21 & 23 and 22

10: See above ch. V, note 6

11: Sir James Young Simpson, 1811-70, who had become Professor of Midwifery four years before Carus' visit, in 1840

12: In 1836 Pulszky was to gain admission to London's Penitentiary and Bedlam and he describes these visits vividly in ch. III of his Tagebuch (Pulszky, 14ff.).

13: Le Diable Boiteux

b) Charitable

14: cf. also Huber's 1823-4 account of the Edinburgh hospitals and asylums, prisons and Bridewell. Huber visited in particular the Merchant Maiden Hospital, Heriot's Hospital and the Jail and Bridewell (Huber, Briefe, Nos. 217-8, 10 & 12, 9, 1825, 866ff., 867 & 869ff., and 870ff.). I was unfortunately unable to include this material in this chapter, since I received it too late.


c) Educational, Academic and Professional

i. General Education

16: Maidinger quotes figures stating that over half the children in England and Ireland were entirely uneducated, 40,000 in London alone; of 1,500,000 children in Britain between the ages of 5 and 14, 770,000 were uneducated. He refers to an article by Brougham in 'The Times', of 5.1.1821, as his source (Maidinger, Briefe, 141ff.).

17: The innkeeper, too, had been in possession of this book.
ii. Schools, Universities and Learned Societies

18: See below ch. XII, p.846f.

19: James Pillans, 1778-1864, educational reformer, who was famed as a Latin teacher and greatly developed the teaching of Greek, as well as introducing the monitorial system referred to by both Spiker and Meidinger. Pillans was an early advocate of compulsory education and toured Ireland, Prussia, Switzerland and France in order to study the education systems. He was appointed to the chair of Humanity and Laws at the University of Edinburgh in 1820.

20: Publ. in Cassel by Krieger

21: In giving the numbers of professors and lecturers in the various universities, Raumer cites ten in Dumfries - possibly a mistaken reference to the Marist Brotherhood's St. Joseph's College? Otherwise, as is to be expected, the only universities he mentions by name are those of Oxford, Cambridge, London, Dublin, Durham and the four Scottish establishments.

22: Delineations of St. Andrews or History & present state of the city, university and ruins, by James Grierson, Edinburgh, 1807

23: See above p. 441f.

24: Holzenthal mistakenly gives the number of students as 3,000 - the correct figure was in fact 2,000.

25: The lack of student uniform was to strike the later travellers.

26: See above ch. VI, note 4

27: On Edinburgh University, see Meidinger, Briefe, 142ff. & Reisen, 19ff.

28: In Aberdeen he had noted French and German theological texts.

29: See above pp.417ff.

30: Hunter, 1718-83, had been educated in his native Scotland, studying for the Church for five years in Glasgow and medicine for four years in Edinburgh, but then moved to London. Had his museum remained in London as he wished, it might well have been added to the collection of his younger brother, John, 1728-93; the latter museum, however, was bought by the Government and presented to the Royal College of Surgery, but destroyed in the last War.

31: In contrast to Raumer's opinion. See above, p.447

32: cf. Moscheles' belittling account of the skills of the phrenologist, Spurzheim, 1776-1832, whom he visited in Edinburgh (Moscheles, 193f.)

33: Founded in 1783

34: See above, ch. V, p.334

35: He goes on to explain the system of compulsory attendance for the first three years of membership, for the first of which a member paid £6.10/- subscription, for the second £2.5/- and for the third £1.4/-; during the lectures, which were held every Friday from 8 to 11 p.m. and sometimes lasted until 12 midnight or 1 a.m., there was a roll-call three times and if members were found absent, they incurred a fine of 5/-, or 2/- if they were absent from a Society meeting.
36: To the Germans all companies and societies alike were "Gesellschaften".

iii. Legal and other Institutions


38: Meidinger is also alone in writing of the Aberdeen Society of Advocates (Meidinger, Reisen, 59).

CHAPTER VII: TRADE AND INDUSTRY

a) Urban Industry

1: The Highland Pistols were mentioned by later visitors, e.g. Rollstab, i, 322.

2: In his edn. of Schopenhauer's Reise durch England und Schottland (Stuttgart, 1965)

3: She had already seen Boulton's Soho works and was later to tour the Rotherham Iron Works (Schopenhauer, 171ff. & 384ff.).


5: Robert Owen, 1771-1858, and his father-in-law, David Dale, 1739-1806

6: cf. Kohl's account of the German approval of such institutions (Kohl, GB, iii, 443ff.)

7: Robert Dale Owen, 1801-77. He was to leave for America with his father in 1825.

8: On trade and industry in England, see esp. Raumer, 1835, i, Letter 18 & ii, Letters 36-8, 59-61 & 63

9: On Cleland, see above, ch. V, p. 328

10: See Pulszky, chs. XII, 99ff. & XIV, 118ff.


12: On Caledonian Canal, see above ch. III, pp. 189, 216 & 218. On Wade see e.g. Goede, iü, 137 & Nemnich, 591 and on Telford, Meidinger, Reisen, 81

b) Rural Industry

13: cf. also Meidinger, Reisen, 75 & 79

14: cf. ibid., 66

15: In a lengthy footnote, Meidinger gives statistics taken from the latest 'Report of the Commissioners from the Office of the Herring Fishery', of 31.10.1826 (ibid., 77ff.).

16: cf. Kohl's account below, p. 501

17: Meissner evidently felt strongly about this. He had already referred to it earlier (Meissner, 181).

18: Waagen was to make similar observations of the tree-planting family of his hostess, Lady Hopetoun (Waagen, 311ff.).
19: He inserts an illustration, however.
20: Again, complete with diagram
21: cf. Schopenhauer's comments on the British portraiture of cows and pigs (Schopenhauer, 161ff.)
22: Kohl, ii, ch. XV
23: Sir Robert Peale
24: Had he consulted Nemnich (see above, p.493), he would have known of lime-spreading.
25: Previously noted by Meidinger (Meidinger, Reisen, 24)
26: It is not clear whether these were pumpkins or vegetable marrows.
27: Coincidentally, one of Ziegler's articles on Scotland was printed on the same page as a report of the huge numbers of Germans wanting to emigrate to America ('Illustrirte Zeitung', 13.3.1852, No. 454). See above, ch. IV, pp.287ff.
28: cf. Fontane's fleeting comments on the land between Perth and Inverness in Jenseit des Tweed, ch. XVII, esp. 224

CHAPTER VIII : PAINTING, SCULPTURE AND ARCHITECTURE

a) Painting
1: Cited by Pulszky as author of Statues antiques de l'Europe
2: See Pulszky's analysis of art as a reflection of the times (Pulszky, chs. VI-VII, "Weltkunst", 39-54)
4: 1802-73
5: The annual Edinburgh art exhibition - of which the Frenchman, Simond, gave an account after his visit of 1810-11 (Simond, Journal of a Residence in Great Britain, ii, 47f.) - is nowhere mentioned by the Germans.
6: On the Holyrood Picture Gallery, see below, ch. XI, p.790f.
7: For a fairly detailed commentary on the paintings see Meidinger, Reisen, 106 & Briefe, 165. Also Löwenthal, 88f. & Waagen, ii, 296f.
8: e.g. Brandes, 17
9: David Octavius Hill, 1802-70 (see above, ch. V, p.335) & Horatio McCulloch, 1805-67
10: Thomson, 1778-1840 & Duncan, 1807-43
12: See esp. Ibid., 433ff. Allan, 1744-96; Alexander Nasmyth, 1758-1840; Patrick Nasmyth, 1787-1831; Roberts, 1796-1864
13: Sir Joseph Noel Paton, 1821-1901
14: cf. similar comments from Waagen, ii, 271
15: 1782-1850
16: See below, ch. XI, p.815
17: Commissioned by Cadell

b) Sculpture and Architecture
   i. Monuments and Memorials
18: General Sir John Moore, 1761-1809
19: Bell's Comet Steamship sailed from Glasgow to Greenock from 1812 until it was wrecked in 1820.
20: The Scott Monument was under construction 1840-44
21: 1804-91
22: Campbell, 1790-1858; Roberts, see above, note 12; Damer, 1749-1828
23: See also Brandes, 65
24: See also Meidinger, Reisen, 14ff.
25: Chantrey's statues of George IV and Pitt were erected in 1831 & 1833.
26: On August 27th, ten days after the arrival in Edinburgh of George IV on his state visit
27: e.g. Brandes, 64
28: See e.g. Otto, 301 & Spiker, 203
29: The Necropolis was in fact modelled on the Père la Chaise in Paris.

ii. Buildings
30: Much of Berlin was created by Schinkel.
31: The first major tenement disaster occurred in 1861 and the Improvement Act did not follow until 1867.
32: See below, p.567f.
33: See below, ch. XII, pp.837ff.
34: See esp. Spiker, 228f., on the beauty of Perth
35: e.g. Rellstab's account of Greyfriars Church in Stirling (Rellstab, ii, 308f.) & Hallberg's account of Inverness (Hallberg-Broich, 72)

CHAPTER IX: LANGUAGE

a) English and Scots
1: On Fontane and Morris, see Appendix, pp.230-282. Dr. Willich, who taught Walter Scott German in Edinburgh, was also an expatriate.
2: 1788-1856, philosopher and Professor of History in Edinburgh from 1821. See above, ch. V, note 37
3: See over.
3a: First-hand observation could also lead Kohl astray, however. In this instance he missed the Gaelic "monadh" ("mount").
3: For "England" read "Britain". The discussion includes the following table:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Deutsch</th>
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<tr>
<td>Tharm</td>
<td>Tripes</td>
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<td>Lankale</td>
<td>Coleworts uncut</td>
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<td>Yuke</td>
<td>Itching</td>
<td>Jucken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rock</td>
<td>Distaff</td>
<td>(Spinn)-Rocken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sod</td>
<td>Thick turf</td>
<td>Soda (Torf)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Nennich, 1799, 495)

4: For "fletcher" (an arrow maker) read "flascher"

5: He was also able to discuss the word in Land und Leute der Britischen Inseln (Kohl, GB, iii, 523f.)

b) Gaelic

6: 2nd edn., 1843 (Wichmann, 26, footnote)

7: See below, ch. X, p.597

8: See e.g. Brandes, 27f.

9: e.g. in the ch. "Der letzte Hochlands-Hauptling" (Fontane, 250, footnote)

10: i.e. "brechan" & the first syllable of "feil-beg"?

11: Kohl's uncertainty as to the origin of the word "punch" is supported by the Oxford English Dictionary, which gives several possible European and Indian (but not Gaelic) derivations.

CHAPTER X: LITERATURE


a) Ossian and Fingal's Cave


3: See above, p.592

4: See above, Part One, ch. III, p.54 & Note 33

5: She had just described the aged man. See above, ch.V, p.320

6: "Ossian hat in meinem Herzen den Homer verdrängt ..."

7: Otto reports that it was Macpherson's grandson who now lived there, while Löwenthal, in the same year, states that it was his son (Otto, 357f. & Löwenthal, 118).

8: See above, ch. IX, p.585

7a: Confusion between the geographical name of "Morvern" and Ossian's "Morven" was common.
9: In referring to available illustrations of Staffa, Spiker had also cited Faujas, although he was of the opinion that William Daniell's recently published plate far excelled that of the Frenchman (Spiker, footnote, 256). See above, Part One, ch. III, p.50

10: See Schinkel-Museum, Mappe XII, nos. 16-18, views of and from Staffa (cited by Walzogen, Schinkel, iii, footnote, 108)


12: An indication of the level of current interest in such geological sites as Fingal's Cave can be judged by the fact that the above article by Ziegler was preceded in the 'Illustrirte Zeitung' by a lengthy description of the Kleinhäuslergrotte and the Adelsberger Grotte.

13: "Child's Harold's Pilgrimage" was publ. 1812-18. cf. a passage from Carus, describing his choice of reading matter on his voyage home from Scotland to Hamburg: "Ich nahm zuerst Byron und las ein Stück in Child Harold [sic]. - Ich darf wohl sagen, dass es jetzt, wo mir eigentliche Zustände und Seelengegenstands geworden waren, auch anders und bedeutender wirkte - als sonst, - der innere kranke Fleck, welcher sich bei allen Werken des Dichters fühlbar macht, wurde jedoch auch dadurch nicht verdeckt" (Carus, ii, 327).

14: See Lewald, Meine Lebensgeschichte, iii, 241

15: Lewald here quotes 17 lines from Ossian

16: Erinnerungen von Fanny Lewald (Berlin, Janke, 1888)

b) Shakespeare and Macbeth

17: C.W. von Borcke's Julius Caesar

18: With reference in particular to Wieland, Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, Schlegel and Tieck


20: See Appendix, p.170

21: See below, c) i, p.642f.

22: cf. above, ch. V, p.397


24: See above, note 1

25: cf. Carus' comment on being shown the site of the Heath: "Es ist leicht möglich, dass hier erst der Dichter die Sage und den Ort der Sage den Dichter geschaffen hat, wie sonst die Sage den Dichter belehrt! (Carus, ii, 248)

26: See above, ch. II, p.171f.

27: Again Fontane repeated much of the above in his essay on the Highlands (Fontane, 400)
c) Scottish Writers

28: Meissner presumably refers here to the Aberdeen professor and poet, James Beattie, 1735-1803, rather than the lesser known Montrose poet, George Beattie, 1786-1823. It might also be noted of Campbell, 1777-1844, that his work was influenced not only by his conception of Mull and Morven, but also by his connections with Germany. It is interesting to speculate that had he accepted the offer of a chair in Wilna in 1803, he would have been a colleague of Joseph Frank, who took up his post there that same year, after his tour of Britain.

29: Smith, 1771-1845, Jeffrey, 1773-1850 & Brougham, 1778-1868, were all cofounders of the 'Edinburgh Review' the previous year, in 1802. Henry Mackenzie, 1745-1831, was doubtless sympathetic to Frank on account of his admiration for Lessing and Schiller.

30: See above, Part One, ch. IV, p.68

31: Indeed, Förster was to find cause to refute Byron's Scottish ties, when commenting on the inclusion of the poet amongst the Scottish writers portrayed on the Scott Monument in Edinburgh (Förster, 308).

31a: For a rare contemporary assessment of Galt, see below, p.662f.

32: This is in sharp contrast to the Frenchman, Pichot, who in 1825 recognised Scotland's literary heritage in such names as Barbour, Douglas, Dunbar, Lindsay, Buchanan, Ramsay, Hogg and even the "Anglo-Scots", Thomson and Mallet (Pichot, Historical and Literary Tour, i, 393ff., Letter to M. Guizot).

33: A clearer picture of Smollett's reception in Germany is found in Strahlheim, who describes the writer as "ein vortrefflicher Moralist und ein hinreissender Erzähler, und Muster in der Reinheit und Schönheit des Styles" (Strahlheim, Wundermappe, iii, 256). Strahlheim further recognises the contribution of Burns, Home and Blair and also views the work of Hume and Robertson in the light of their literary achievements (ibid., 255ff.).

i. Robert Burns

34: They are altered to suit Kohl's purpose, however, the names "Nith" and "Comyns" in the 3rd and 4th lines having been substituted by the more widely known "Forth" and "Bruce".

35: See above, ch. IX, pp.586ff.

36: The Kilmarnock edn. of Burns' poetry, of 1871, lists 13 different German edns. and translations of the poems, dating from 1831-1869, but only 2 French translations.

37: Had Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, been better known, this would surely have applied to him also.

38: In vol. 1 of Currie's edn. of Burns' poetry, publ. 1800

39: The lady in question was Mrs. Maclehose and the parting which occasioned the poem ("Ae Fond Kiss") was in fact her departure to join her husband in the West Indies.

40: See above, ch. V, note 36

40a: "The Vision", stanza 11, line 1 & stanza 12. Kohl quotes from the earlier version of the poem; the 1786 edition was to substitute "my Bess, I ween" for "Bonie Jean".
Tourists could find the anecdote in Chambers' *Picture of Scotland* (first publ. 1827).

One must presume that it is his own version.

Versions of "The lovely lass o' Inverness", "Charlie, He's my darlin'", "Ye Jacobites by name, give an ear" and "Highland Harry back again" appeared amongst the 11 "Jacobitenlieder", the second of these being reproduced in the 1861 essay, "Die alten englischen und schottischen Balladen".

It is noticeable, however, that he omits the line which gives the song its title. Did he understand the sentiment implied?

It is scarcely of relevance here that the chorus is said not to be Burns' own, but traditional.

ii. Walter Scott

Scott's first published works were translations of Bürger's "Lenore" and "Der wilde Jäger" (1796) & Goethe's *Götz von Berlichingen* (1799).

Scott's opinion (expressed to Eckermann) quoted by Ochojski above was from a few years later, in 1831, after he had read *Ivanhoe*, significantly an English, not Scottish, work.

Heine, *Sämtliche Werke* (Cotta), vol. VI, 231ff.


See below.

See below, ch. XI, p.710f.

For his account see above, ch. VI, p.465

See above, p.594f.

Born 1798, 1799 & 1800 respectively

Born 1809, 1819 & 1822 respectively

See above, ch. III, pp.208ff.

See above, pp.685ff.


See e.g. Kohl, i, 15 & 64; Brandes, 75; Fontane, 25

See above, ch. VI, pp.429ff.

e.g. Brandes, 12 & 77

e.g. Ziegler, *Reise*, 189, 264, 326ff. *Bilder*, 360

Galt wrote *Ringan Gilhaize* in reaction to *Old Mortality*, in which he felt Scott had misrepresented the Covenanters. While the lack of public interest in the novel disappointed him, Galt himself considered it his best work and felt sure that posterity would appreciate it.

Galt certainly encouraged his readers to retain sympathy for his hero, but the more sombre aspect of the Covenanting cause, as reflected in the development of Ringan's character, from eager child to deeply religious family man to obsessive and dangerously deluded bigot, would appear to have escaped Huber.
Abbotsford

64: For more detailed studies of Scott's influence on Fontane, see Appendix, pp.188ff.

65: Canto II, stanza 1

66: She had been greatly impressed by Raeburn's portrait of the poet, which earlier visitors to Abbotsford would have seen, but which now hung in Edinburgh.

67: See above, ch. VIII, pp.534ff.

68: See above, ibid., pp.538ff.

69: A regret he voiced more than once (e.g. Rellstab, i, 336)

d) Printing, Publishing and Journalism

i. Printing and Publishing

70: See Nemnich, 166-175

71: By the publication of Meidinger's later work, however, Constable's business had failed.

72: Black, 1784-1874. Waagen presumably received a copy of the 7th edn. of Black's Guide through Edinburgh with Pleasure Excursions in the Environs (8th edn. publ. the following year, 1851). Black's Picturesque Tourist of Scotland. With ... map ..., charts and views ... and a copious itinerary was first publ. in 1840 and had reached its 14th edn. by 1859.

73: Their father was in fact a not unsuccessful draper, who lost his money through unwise loans to French prisoners-of-war — Lewald was happy to 'downgrade' him somewhat.

74: Robert Chambers had recently published his Select Writings, of which Lewald herself had only leafed through the History of the Rebellion of 1745-46.

75: See Appendix, p.201

76: See Brockhaus, Reisetagebuch (1873), 295

ii. Journalism

77: John Stuart Blackie, 1809-95, whose translation of Faust was publ. in 1834

CHAPTER XI : HISTORY AND FOLK TRADITION

a) The Folk Tradition

i. Music and Dance

1: See Appendix, pp.188ff.

2: e.g. Raumer, 1835, i, 496ff. on "anglische Tonkünstler"

3: See above, ch. V, pp.394ff. Also Rellstab, iii, 101f. for an account of a "Scottish" concert in London

4: While in London, Carus attended a performance of Donizetti's opera, Lucia di Lammermoor, but despite the Scottish subject matter, Carus evidently saw it very much as an Italian opera performed by Italian artists (Carus, i, ch. XXII).

3a: Schopenhauer, however, sampled some of the Races Week entertainment on her visit to Edinburgh in 1803. See above, p.396f., for her account of a "Scottish" concert...
George Thomson, the collector of Scottish music and friend of
Burns, was not born until 1757 and his Collection of Scottish
Songs and Airs did not begin to appear until 1799.

The same man as Spiker had heard 26 years before?

See Nürnberger, Der frühe Fontane (Hamburg, 1967), 253

See Appendix, p.189f.

Folklore and Balladry

For bibliography, see Appendix, pp.236ff.

See Appendix, p.193f. & 203f.

b) History

Kohl, GB, i, 238-291

See Appendix, p.203f.

i. Picts, Scots, Vikings and Romans

The vitrified fort at Beregonium, excavated in 1875, had not yet
been discovered.

cf. Pennant, A Tour in Scotland, 243

See above, ch. X, a) & c)ii, p.684

ii. Battle Scenes

cf. Scott's account in Tales of a Grandfather, ch. LI

Reports of the number of battles vary. Marx was to write of
"many", while Fontane wrote of fourteen (Marx, 23 & Fontane, 166
& 392)

cf. Prebble, The Lion in the North, 98

iii. National Heroes: Wallace, Bruce and Douglas

ch. VII

See above, ch. X, p.651f.

iv. The Clans

See above, ch. IV, p.288f.

This story was one of those later to be recounted by Fontane
(Fontane, 276).

Pennant, A Tour in Scotland, 365f.

See below, ch. XII, p.865

cf. Fontane's portrait of Mr. Armstrong in Irrungen Wirrungen
(ch. 25) and the Scot's attitude to the violent history of his
plundering forbears

v. The Jacobites

In fact he landed further north at Peterhead.

See above, ch. X, p.652f. & note 43

See Nürnberger, Der frühe Fontane, 253
vi. Towns of Historical Interest: Stirling, Perth & Edinburgh

Edinburgh and Holyrood

29: See Appendix, pp.201 & 205

30: Lewald's source was presumably the Tales of a Grandfather, ch. XLVI.

31: See above, ch. I, p.120

32: The Comte d'Artois resided at Holyrood from 1795-9 and again, as the deposed Charles X, in 1831.

33: Schinkel mistakenly refers here to Louis VIII.

34: The former Rathaus, in whose "Kaisersaal" are portraits of the Kaisers

vii. Mary Queen of Scots


36: Publ. by Constable, Edinburgh, 1828

37: Prime amongst these was Westminster Abbey, with the tombs of the two queens.

38: For Raumer's comments on this portrait, see op.cit, footnote, 629f.

39: See e.g. Schinkel, iii, 91

40: e.g. Schopenhauer, 305 & Brandes, 72

41: e.g. Meidinger, Reisen, 35 & Brandes, 59

42: On the chapter's original exclusion from Jenseit des Tweed, see Appendix, p.203

43: See Appendix, p.194

44: In his Treasures of Art Waagen included commentaries on many portraits of subjects closely associated with the life of Mary, including four of Mary herself (Waagen, ii, 363; iii, 346 & 457; iv, 357).

45: See Appendix, p.175

CHAPTER XII : RELIGION

a) Iona and the Early Church

1: For Klingemann's remarks on Iona, see above, ch. X, p.614f.

2: An opinion later to be expressed by Fontane, with the phrase, "wie mit Recht bemerkt worden ist ..." (Fontane, 293)


4: See Appendix, p.123f.

b) The Church in Scotland

5: See Wendeborn, op. cit, iii, 230-243, on the history of the Church of Scotland
7: See Raumer, 1835, Letters 8, 12, 19, 51, 53, 57, 60-1, 63-4 & ibid., 1841, 18 & 20-25
8: Kohl, GB, ii, 339ff.
10: Kohl, GB, ii, 346ff., 375ff., 404ff., 432ff., 459ff., 474ff. & 503ff. respectively
11: Wilkie's "The Preaching of John Knox"
12: e.g. Arbroath, Brechin, Aberdeen, Inverness, Paisley and Kilmarnock (Maidinger, Reisen, 55, 57, 59, 68, 101 & 103)
13: See "Die Quäker-versammlung" (Löwenthal, i, 312f.)
14: The report comprised 3 articles, publ. in 7 instalments, from Dec. 1849 to Oct. 1850, "VI. Serie", nos. 23-4; "VII. Serie", nos. 1, 2, 17-19
15: As such it can also be seen to expand on Huber's account of mission work in Scotland in the 1820's.
16: e.g. Lewald, ii, 262; Spiker, 231; Brandes, 56

c) The Sabbath
19: Fanny Lewald chose to describe herself as a "Sonntagskind" (Lewald, ii, 515). See above, ch. II, p.181

17: Presumably The Family Shakespeare (1st edn., 1807), "expurgated" by Thomas Bowdler.
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